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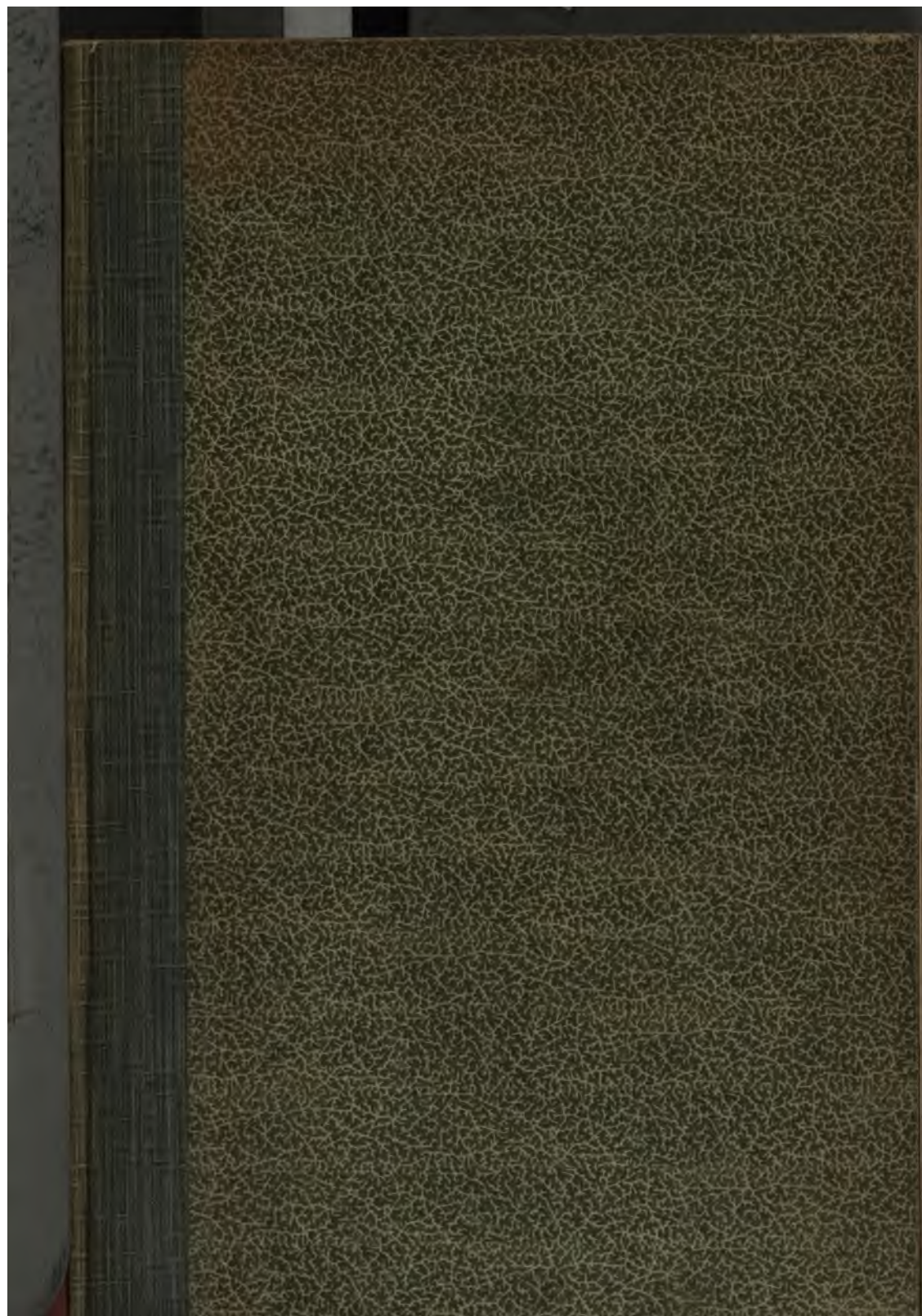
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6



ON THE
USE OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD
IN ANGLO-SAXON,
AND ITS
FURTHER HISTORY IN OLD ENGLISH.

AN INAUGURAL DISSERTATION
WRITTEN FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
AND PRESENTED
TO THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ZÜRICH
BY
GEROLD HOTZ
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ERRATA.

- Pg. 16 h. *and are* instead of *an are.*
» 37 m. *lying* » » *lieing.*
» 39 m. §§ 29 and 30 . . » » §§ 27 and 28.
» 61 b. §§ 39 b » » § 37 b, e.
» 73 h. *chance.* » » *change.*
-

INTRODUCTION.

I.

THE integrity of the English verb has been so much affected by that corruption of English grammar which began in the eleventh century and is accomplished in Shakespeare, that the subjunctive mood is distinguishable in modern English but in a few forms of the verb. The so-called modal verbs *shall*, *will*, *may* gradually lost their presentive¹ meaning, and, to supply the want of a clearly distinguished subjunctive mood, assumed a purely symbolic function, in which they appear just where once the true subjunctive lived its most vigorous and intimate life.

It is therefore not very astounding, that the English grammarians of past centuries either ignored its existence as a mood, or misconceived it. When, on the other hand, the revival of English literature led to the study of Old English history and Anglo-Saxon was brought within reach of the learned, that old tongue was looked upon through Latin grammar; and we must go as far as *The Elements of Anglo-Saxon Grammar by Bosworth*, to find Anglo-Saxon grammar in its true genius and structure, freed from Latin incumbrances².

¹ In using this word I followed Mr. *J. Earle*, prof. of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Oxford. V. his *Anglo-Saxon for Beginners*, pg. 7.

² The now following brief review of E. grammars as to their opinions of the subj., is founded on a certain number of old grammars in the Bodl. Libr. Oxford.

BULLOKAR¹, who writes in 1586 the first English Grammar printed, knows the subj. but as far as it appears as optat. in the independ. sent. His "subj. mood" means the verb in the depend. sent. and not a form of the verb:—"The subj. mood is declined as the indic. everywhere having always a conjunction before his nominative case; excepting after conjunctions conditionals, exceptives and adversatives, it is in the voice of the optat. mood."

CHARLES BUTLER, M. A.², of all the subj. knows but the 3^d pers. sing. pres. of *to be*; in the second, he only quotes *beest*; he explains *love he*, *love we* as imperatives.

BEN JONSON³, after having stated that collective nouns require a verb in the plural (as f. i. *folke*), goes on to say, that "this exception (i. e. plural for sing.) is in other names very common, especially when the verb is joined to an adverb or conjunction" and sees such cases in *although a man be wise*; *ere sinne you forsake*; *before he have beene condemned!!* where the subj. is explained as being the plural! of those respective verbs. In his table of conjugation Jonson gives the form *love* only for the plural, not for the sing., ignoring *love = amet*.

The *English Grammar or plain Exposition of Lilie's Grammar* (London 1641) by R. R., Master in Arts, calls *When I was* the "subj. mood", because it translates the Latin *Cum essem*⁴.

WALLIS, eminent grammarian and professor of Geometry in Oxford, speaks of the omission of the suffixes *-est*; *-eth (s)* in the 2^d and 3^d pers. sing. pres., and 2^d pret., as expressing a

¹ WILLIAM BULLOKAR:—*A little Treatise on Grammar*. Lond. 1586 (See pgg. 15, 28 of it).

² *The English Grammar or The Institution of Letters, Syllables, and Words in the E. tongue*, by Charles Butler. Oxford 1633.

³ See his *E. grammar* in his "Observation of the E. language now spoken and in use". 1640 (pg. 78 et seqq.).

⁴ See pg. 66 of the Gr. quoted.

command and occurring after conjunctions:—*if, that, though, although, whether*—apart in small print¹; but *were* and *be*, the subj² of the verb. subst., are to him only a second formation of the auxiliary; he does not besides give *be* for the 2^d pers. subj. pres., but only *beest*.

While that part which treats of pronunciation, phonetics, orthography, versification &c., makes out the substance of grammars in the 17th cent., the inflexions, and especially syntax, hardly find a place. A *New E. Gr.* of 1662 by *Don Diego Howel*, deals with synt. in the following way:—"The E. being a Sub-dialect to other tongues and having such varieties of incertitudes, changes and idioms, it cannot be in the compass of a human brain to compile an exact regular synt. thereof."²

JOHN WILKINS, D.D., whose *Essay towards a Real character and a philosophical Language* was published in 1688 (London), mentions beside indic. and imperat. "secondary modes", whereby he means *shall, will, ought* &c.³

COOPER⁴ and MIEGE⁵ do not show any progress.

Meanwhile the study of Anglo-Saxon literature, history and language had begun.

The restorer of the knowledge of the septentrional languages in England was FRANCIS JUNIUS, who brought Anglo-Saxon types

¹ *Johannis Wallis Grammatica linguæ Anglicanæ*, Oxoniæ 1653, pg. 52:—"In secunda tamen persona singulari utriusque temporis additur terminatio *-est*, et in tertia singulari presentis temporis *-eth*, vel ipsius loco *-s*. Omittitur etiam utraque terminatio in imperando et post conjunctiones *if, si, that, ut* &c.; tunc scilicet ubi Latini modum imperativum aut subjunctivum adhiberent."

² See pg. 80 of his *Grammar*.

³ See pg. 315 of his *Essay*.

⁴ See his *Gr. linguæ Anglicanæ, peregrinis eam addiscendi cupidis pernecessaria, nec non Anglis præcipue scholis, plurimum profutura*, Auctore C. Cooper. M. A. Lond. 1685, pg. 138 et seqq.

⁵ See *The E. Gr., by Guy Miegé*. Gent, 2^d ed., printed in Lond. 1691, ppg. 50, 54, 64.

to England and edited Cædmon. MILTON was the first to publish a history of the Ags. period, derived from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles under the guidance of his friend JUNIUS¹.

1644 appeared *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*; 1659 *Aelfric's Grammar* by Somnerus, who also gave an Anglo-Saxon dictionary.

But the impulse to study Ags. was *Hickes' Thesaurus*:—*Linguarum veterum septentrionalium thesauri grammatico-critici sive Institutiones grammaticæ Anglo-Saxonicæ et Mæso-Gothicæ. Oxoniæ 1703* (or in its first shape 1689²). As regards the verb subst., Hickes still confounds indicative with subjunctive forms in the sing. (He gives *sī* for the sing. indic.; in the plural but *beoð*). *Byst* appears alongside of *sī* under the head *Modus optativus, potentialis et subjunctivus*. Of *weorþan*, the indic. is with him:—*weorþe* 1; *weorþest* 2; *weorþe*, *wurþe*, *wyrþe* 3!! whereto he adds from Cædmon *weorþeþ* in a note! As for the pres. subj., he is not yet conscious of the 2^d pers. sing. having no *-est* (*-st*) as ending, in early Ags.; and, looking through the Latin *Cum amem* &c., he still puts down *donne ic lufige*, *ðu lufast*, *lufað* &c. under the head of *Modus subjunctivus*³.

After Hickes ED. THWAITES⁴ and ELISABETH ELSTOB took up the study of Ags. and made the results of Hickes known. *Raede he*, *sȝ he*, are in the *Rudiments of Grammar for the English-Saxon Tongue* (1715) of that lady scholar imperatives. We did not find in her book any advanced views as to the subj. Thwaites' book is a digest of that part of Hickes' *Thesaurus* which treats of Ags.

¹ These dates about *Junius*, *Milton* and *Somnerus* we take from *Earle*:—*Two of the Ags. Chr. parallel*, pg. 68 and *The Elements of A.-S. Grammar* by *Bosworth*, Preface XIII et seqq.

² This edition we used.

³ See pg. 35 et seqq.

⁴ See his *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica ex Hickesiano Ling. Sept. Thes. excerpta. Oxoniæ 1711*.

GREENWOOD, who is acquainted with the works of Dr. Wallis, bishop Wilkins and Hickes, is the first to speak more elaborately about verbal inflexions and syntax, in his *Essay towards a practical English Grammar describing the genius and nature of the English tongue* (London 1711), whereby he wishes to oblige the ladies. The New with him is, that "the Moods are the different endings of the verb, that are made use of to express the Manners or Forms of its signifying the Being, Doing or Suffering of a thing", although his "English verb has no diversity of endings and does all by the aid of auxiliary or helping verbs"¹. Then again *if he write* stands according to him for *if he shall write; if he have written* for *if he shall have written, shall* being "left out"! *Thy Kingdom come* is explained by the suppression of *let* in *Let thy Kingdom come*². "In *Be it so, let* may be understood."

JOHN BURN at last, writing in 1766, puts down but subjunctive forms under the head "Conjunctive"; and yet they are with him but exceptional forms of the indic.³

PRIESTLEY, though penetrating somewhat into the genius of the English subj. and knowing to account for the difference between an indic. and a subj. after *though* f. i., looks upon the subj. in the same way in his *Rudiments of English Grammar adapted to the use of Schools*⁴, a very elaborate work. Strange and surprising it is, that he follows Greenwood in his explanation of what he calls *irregularity* in the form "*run*" in *though he run* f. i. "by an ellipsis of some words which were originally inserted and made it regular": He supposes *run* to be the "radical form of the verb" answering to the infinitive and *although he run* is with him equal to *although he should run*. In cases like *if thou drew*, that explanation by ellipsis however

¹ V. pg. 118 of his *Essay*.

² V. pg. 272 of his *Essay*.

³ See his *Practical Grammar of the E. language*. Glasgow 1766.

⁴ *Joseph Priestley* L.L.D., F.R.S., Lond. 1768. See ppg. 14, 16, 24.

will not do:—"There it is evident that the conjunctive form of verbs is in fact used for the auxiliary and an other form of the verb." Such observation sounds like the contrary of the truth, yet it was on the very way to it.

II.

The scarcity of the subj. in later English as compared with Ags., is not only due to the large diffusion of modal words to periphrase it:—In many cases the subj. was the rule with Ags., where in Old English the indic. stands. So f. i. in the indirect speech. Our inquiry therefore will have a twofold object:—*To trace out the syntactic use of the subj. mood in Ags., then to show how far Old English maintained it.*

English books about the earlier stage of their language did not hitherto propose themselves to pay any close attention to the use of moods¹. In that precious book for the student of Early English *The Old and Middle English by Kington Oliphant* (London 1878), all we hear, is the wholly inexact observation:—*The Subjunctive usually, but now and then the Indicative followed that, ere, though, when and if*².

In Sweet's *Ags. Reader* there are given summary rules about the subj. in Ags., but just where its use is most characteristic, we miss substantial information:—"The subj. is also used in a variety of other collocations to imply hypothetis, uncertainty, indefiniteness, vague, futurity."³ That the conjunction *aer* is always followed by the subj. (pg. XCV), we shall find to be inaccurate.

¹ *Abbot* (Shakesp. Grammar) is greatly puzzled at the use of *were* after *though* in Shakesp. (pgg. 210, 211). One glance into Ags. usage shows that there such a subj. was the very rule (see § 16 of our essay).

² pg. 46.

³ See pg. XCIV, 9.

In Germany inquiries into the use of moods have been made as to Gothic, Old High German, Middle High German, Old Saxon¹. As for Ags. the task is left to be done².

In the following essay, we do not mean to treat that matter exhaustively, i. e. to that extent it might be treated of; but simply to set forth the nature and genius of the Ags. subj. in its most striking appearance. An eminent Ags. scholar suggested to us, that the subj. was likely to be but a reflex of the Latin subj. The results of our inquiry however clearly prove that the Ags. subj. is possessed of a genius of its own, as well as other Germanic dialects.

Inquiry is less easy to make as for Ags., than as for Old High German f. i., since in Ags. the subj. is not distinguishable in so many forms:

Speaking of strong verbs, observation has to rest on the 2^a and 3^a pers. sing. in the present; on the 1st and 3^a in the pret.; in the pres. plural all persons are distinguished from the indic.³; in the pret. plural, only the forms in *-en* of early Ags. may with great caution be admitted as inst^a of the subj.; the forms in *-on*, being ambiguous⁴, have to be rejected. *Magen* stands Sat. 95 as indic.; so *môten* Sat. 332, 651; *Maegen* again as indic. Metra 5, 5.

With reference to weak verbs, matters are the same as with strong verbs in the present; in the pret., the subj. is from late Ags. no longer distinguishable from the indic. Sweet's Ags. Reader pg. LXX suggests, that the 2^a pers. sing. of the pret. subj. seems to be the same as in the indic. in Late West Saxon.

¹ We shall have to mention some in course of the present essay.

² The treatise *Der Coniunctiv im Alt-Englischen*, spoken of in the concluding chapter of our essay, occasionally brings in some Ags. for comparison. As to its value, see the conclusion.

³ As to clipped forms like *habbe ve*, *habbe ge* &c., see § 1 c.

⁴ Comp. And. 247 *svylce cōmon* (hypoth. comparison) 1049 *þǣ lās—cōmon*; 1149 *þǣ lās—mihton*. Jud. 255 *vaeron* &c. &c.

In reading we arrived at the conviction that it was best not to rest on the suffix *-st* at all as being a characteristic of the indic.¹, while the form without it might be produced as inst. of the subj. Boethius presents almost everywhere the form in *-st* for the subj. as well as for the indic., *mihte* 2^d pers. pret. sbj. occurs 35, 2. Further forms without the suffix are seen V, 3; VIII; XXXIII, 3.

In Old English the occasions to practise observation decrease, more or less, according to the dialect. Long before 1250 the plural of the present indicat. ended in *-en*, instead of *-eth* in East and West-Midland. So indic. and subj. were identic. The *Ancren Riwe* and the *Liffade of St. Juliana* are a gratifying field of observation as retaining the plural *-eth* in the pres. throughout.—Where the plurals *-eth* and *-en* appear side by side, *-en* is fit to give evidence neither for the subj. nor for the indic., while of course *-eth* tells in favour of the indic.

Then again the distinction between subj. and indic. in the strong verb (pret.) is effaced by the dropping of *-e* in the subj. pret.—The greatest care has been used in the present essay to take into consideration but those cases where there exists no doubt whatever as to clearness of verbal forms². So the instances we give have to be understood as unquestionable, unless we add any allusion as to the contrary.

Many instances of the use of the subj. had to be rejected, since different accidents made isolation impossible.

The following

¹ In Handbooks *-st* is wrongly given as mark of the indic.; the form *is* ambiguous.

² *wile* in Ags. 3^d sg. pres. of *willan* f. i. is no safe example for the indic.; nor *wille* for the subj., though *wile* is generally tabulated as indic., *wille* as subj. See f. i. Earle's *Ags. for Beginners.*; — strong verbs are sometimes conjugated like weak verbs—(*funde* = *fand*);—*thynke* notoriously appears as 3^d sg. pres. indic. (see *Mätz.*, *Altengl. Spr.-Proben.*, Prosa ad 134, 18), so *lyste* (*list*) Aelfr.'s Grammar; *need* (*it need not*).

Documents we founded our Inquiry upon

include the *Ags. period*, then Half-Saxon and Early English—which we comprehend into the term *Old English*—up to Chaucer. Occasionally Tyndale comes under concern:—

I. ANGLO-SAXON.

1. *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*. Herausgegeben von Grein, 2 Voll. Göttingen 1857 und 1858.

2. *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Prosa*. Herausgegeben von Grein. Kassel und Göttingen 1872. 1^{te} vol.¹ containing:—Aelfr. de vetere et novo testamento; Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Job.

3. *The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels parallel with the versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale*, by J. Bosworth.

4. *King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Boethius' De consolatione philosophiæ* ed. Cardale. London 1829 (quoted by chapters, §§ and sometimes pages).

5. *Aelfric's Grammatik and Glossar*. Herausgegeben von J. Zupitza. Berlin 1880. 1. Abtheilung: Text und Varianten.

6. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Ed. Schmid. 2. Aufl.

7. *Two of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles Parallel* by J. Earle. Oxford, Clarendon Press.

II. OLD ENGLISH.

1. *Altenglische Sprachproben*. Herausgegeben von Eduard Mätzner. Berlin 1867 and 1869. 2 Bände: a) Poesie; b) Prosa. (Quoted by lines as for poetry, with the pg. when a smaller, less known piece; as for prose by pages and lines.)

2. *Old English Homilies*. Ed. Morris. Early English Text Society. 2 volumes: I. and II. Series. Only partly examined (quoted by the page²).

¹ A second volume has not yet appeared.

² The letters *t*, *h*, *m*, *l*, *b*, sometimes attached mean top, high, middle, low, bottom.

3. *The Ancren Riwele*. Ed. James Morton. Camden Society (quoted by pages).

4. *The Liffade of St. Juliana*. Ed. Cockayne & Brook. Early English Text Society (quoted by pages).

5. *The Original Ordinances of English Gilds* from original MSS. of the 14th century. Ed. Smith. 1870. Early E. T. S. (quoted by pages).

6. *Wycliffe's and Tyndale's Gospels* (See I, Ags. No. 3).

7. *Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose*. Aldine edition of the British poets (quoted by lines).

8. *The Canterbury Tales*, by Geoffrey Chaucer from the Text of Thomas Tyrwhit, a new edition. London 1865. In Routledge's British Poets (quoted by lines; Tale of Mel. by pages from the Ald. edit. of British poets vol. III; Pers. Tale from the just named edit. of Chaucer).

Occasionally RIEGER, *Alt- und Angelsächsisches Lesebuch*; ZUPITZA, *Altenglisches Lesebuch*; SWEET, *Anglosaxon Reader* have been consulted.

For comparison of the Ags. and W.'s Gospels with the Latin originals¹ we have used:—*Ex antiqua versione seu Italica vetere divinorum librorum fragmenta*, in the *Spicilegium Romanum*, Tomus IX. Romæ 1843.

Biblia sacra Vulgatæ editionis Sixti V. et Clementis VIII. Pontt. Maxx. jussu recognita atque edita Romæ anno 1861.

For comparison of the Rom. of the Rose with the French original:—*Le Roman de la Rose*. Ed. by *Francisque Michel* (quoted by pages, the lines not being numbered).

¹ The Ags. version is made from the Italica (*Vetus Italica*). Wycliffe is founded on the *Vulgata*. See *The Goth. and Ags. Gosp. parallel* by Bosw., Preface XI.

I. THE SUBJUNCTIVE¹ AS OPTATIVE AND JUSSIVE.

A. IN THE INDEPENDENT SENTENCE.

§ 1. The name *Subjunctive* as applied to the Teutonic² languages does not refer to the original meaning of what we are used to call subjunctive, but especially to one use of it; that in which the action is dependent upon another action and not stated directly. If we were to adopt a name expressive of that primary meaning, we should style that mood *Optative*; for the Teutonic subjunctive serves essentially to express a wish in the first place. By association with particles or by use in particular classes of sentences that meaning has been differently fixed and developed.

From the expression of a wish as conveyed by the Optative, the transition to the expression of an exhortation or command is near at hand; then the Optative becomes *Hortative* and *Jussive*. All, Optative, Hortative, and Jussive are in Ags. and O. E. very frequently met with in the simple independent clause without any introductory particle; it is often not easy to distinguish whether a subjunctive be Optative, Hortative or Jussive. For us however it imports especially to know the fact that the subjunctive lives here a most vigorous life, whereas in modern English periphrases with modal words like *may*, *shall*, *let*, are the rule.

¹ By this term we mean throughout this essay the so called verbal form.

² We keep to the use of this term common in England for "Germanische Sprachen", though improper.

a) The most frequent occasion to use Optative and Jussive¹ is *the third person*. We need quote but a few instances. A bare Optative stands Beov. 317 *fāder alvalda mid ārstafum éovic gehealde siða gesunde!* So Crist 1581. *He his sávle vlite georne bigonge on godes villan*. The Latin formula: *Pax vobiscum* turns up as:—*Sibb sȝ mid éovic!* in Jul. 668. So Phōnix 622. The elliptic:—*Benedictus Dominus, Maledictus qui* and the like are Englished by *Vese drihten gebletsad*. Psalm 71, 19; *Beó se man ávirged* . . . Deut. 27, 16 and the like. Comp. Deuteron. 27, 17—26; *Vese svā, vesa svā!* is frequent in the Psalms. Cp. 105, 37 f. i. In praises and thankgivings Optatives abound:—Dan. 363—449. The Ags. Chronicles part with their defunct heroes with the wish:—*God geare his sawle*. A°. 1128 E. pg. 257 t.; pg. 256 b.; 1127 E. Such fórmulae as *Sí Gode lof*, Chron. A°. 1009 E. pg. 143; Aelfr. De Vet. Test. 1, 26; *God beo iðonked* Ancr. R. pg. 82; Maundev. 159, 2 M.; *God do ðe soule seli red!* Gen. and Ex. 2514 M.; 2525, 2528, 2532, 2536; *Nelle God þát*, Gen. 44, 17; *God forbid*, Margar. 80 M.; *God gette þet* (God grant that) Poem. Mor. 122; *God lene us*, Canterb. T. 13613; *God blesse us*, ibid. 10292; *Christ me rede*, K. Horn 1051 M.; then assertions accompanied by *So God me save*² Cant. T. 3325, 3282; *So God me spede*, ibid. 7785; *As God me helpe*, ibid. 5783; 6178, 6187, 6387, 13100; and also *God me save*; ibid. 3282, fill up O. E. verses in great number.

b) For the 3^d pers. plur. we allege as examples:—Psalm 108, 8 *Vesan him dagas deorce and dimme and feáve* . . .! Thus 9, 10, 13, 15. Rāts. 49, 6 *Rȝne ongietan reádan goldes guman galdorvríde, gleáve bepuncan hyra hælo tó gode* . . .! Similarly invitations to guess riddles are uttered by the Optative in Rāts. 56, 9; 60, 16 (3^d pers. sg.). Ps. 65, 1:—*Ealle eorðbúend écne drihten vordum vislicum vīde hērian and*

¹ We include Hortative by this term.

² It might be objected that such phrases are not independent.

his naman secgeað neóde mid sealnum . . ! Vulg:—*Jubilate Deo omnis terra, psalmum dicite nomini eius.* Aelfr. Gramm. pg. 148, 11 *doceant* = *tæcon hí.*

In the Ags. Laws and in the Laws of the Jews as given in the Exod. and Lev., the penalties and compensations inflicted for various crimes are almost exclusively set up in the form of the simple optative and jussive¹. Then again the Latin future and even future past, presenting a future action as wished for, deprecated or commanded, are Englished by the subjunctive f. i.:—Gen. 17, 13; Exod. 12, 7; Levit. 3, 3. Again Aelfric translates some of the prophecies in Deut. 28, expressed by the fut. in Latin, by the subjunctive (mostly however by the Present doing duty for the Future), f. i. verse 20 *Sende drihten hunger, mittet d. famem.*

c) While in the 3^d Person the Ags. subjunctive answers to the Latin Optative, Imperative and partly to the Future, **the second person** is provided with the Imperative to utter commands. For that reason the subjunctive is here by far not so common, unless we see it, as Sweet, Ags. Reader, pg. LIX, is inclined to do, in clipped forms² like *fare ge*, *byrne ge*, *write ge*, which have imperative meaning. That view might be supported by the fact that the subj. really occurs in the 2^d pers. to express commands also affirmatively. Ps. 99, *Nu ge mycle gefeán mihtigum drihtne!* = *Jubilate Deo.* Comp. Ps. 94, 8. *Naefre ge . . villan . .* = *Nolite.* *Béon ge gelufode* = *Amaminor* with Aelfric (Gramm. pg. 141, 4). Deut. 14, 11. *Ne beo ge.* So Matth. 6, 5. Exod. 7, 9. *Ne ne eton ge of þam nân þing hreóves . . etað his heafod and his fêt . . !* *Non comedetis ex eo crudum . . ; caput vorabitis.* Comp. Exod. 19, 13. *þonne faran ge!* On the

¹ Inst^s are so common that we need not copy down any.

² The pronoun following being the cause of such clipped verbal forms becomes evident from pass^s like: *þenne biginne we to fleonne ant turned to þe lufte.* Liff. of St. Jul. (about 1230), pg. 44.

other hand that clipped form before the personal pronoun subject is largely diffused where it cannot be anything else but indicative¹. This does not hinder us from explaining many so-called "Imperatives" (*binde ge* and the like) as subjunctives. So we shall have to take them Matth. 7, 1; 5, 17 as compared with Matth. 6, 16 (*Nellon ge*); 6, 31; 14, 27 (*Nellen ge*). The Latin *Nolite* followed by the infinitive is also Englished by the Ags. verb in the imperative itself:—*Ne ondraedað eóv! Nolite timere* Exod. 14, 13. In Ps. 74 *Nelle ge* (4) is followed by *Ne áhebbað ge* (5) and this by *ne ge sprecañ*, while the Vulg. presents every time *Nolite*. — Gen. 42, 15 *Ne farað ge Non egredimini*; but in v. 19 *fare ge, abite*; Gen. 8, 16 *Veaze ge and beoð gemenigfelde Crescite et multiplicamini* show the close resemblance in meaning and purport of both idioms.

d) In the case of *the 2^d pers. sg.* the subj. so often coincides with the imperat., that, by the scarcity of the optative as appearing in distinct and clear forms, we do not venture to decide whether there be any instances in Ags. of its function to express commands as in the 2^d pers. plural.

As for *sý* and *ville*, Erdmann, Syntax Otrids § 30, elucidates that they cannot in fact be anything else but optatives in the restricted sense, i. e., not jussives. *Willan* moreover is in Ags. mostly a weak verb and as such may have a claim to the final *-e* in the imperat.

Inst^s of *the 2^d pers. opt.* are:—Gen. 2674 *Mago Ebréa! pás þu me vylle vordum secgan.* &c., 2360 *þu pás tiða béo! Du seiest des theilhaftig* (Grein's transl.). In Sat. 733 the prince of darkness is thus addressed by the inhabitants of hell:—*Lá! þus beó nu yfele*; Ps. 54, 9 *þu ne him gevinnes vearn*

¹ It might well originally have belonged but to the subj. — where the dropping of the *n*, before the pronoun (*binden ge* = *binde ge*) does not astonish — and hence have gained the indicative.

ofer vealles hrôf and heom on midle vese mân and invit and unsôðfästnys ealle vealde !

That seems to us firmly established, that in the 2^d pers. sing. and pl. the opt. is not in Ags. used to the same extent as in Mæso-Gothic¹.

e) In *the 1st p. pl.* the use of the subj. is restricted by the frequent occurrence of an idiom where the infin. is preceded by a word not yet sufficiently explained:—*Wuton* or *Uton*, as in *Uton cȳðan þæt! Let us proclaim that* Sat. 298. It serves especially to utter an exhortation to act arising from a momentary resolution, while the subj. seems to be reserved to those cases where a maxim of life, an ethic precept has to be stated. For the negative Hortative, the subj. has always to come in: Joseph's brethren provoke each other to kill him by saying *Uton hine ofsleán* Gen. 37, 20; but Rubens warns (v. 22):—*Ne ofsleá we hine, ne ve his blôð ágeóton ac vurpáp hine on þone pitt.* In Sat. 188—209 *Neoman us tó vynne veroda drihten!*

Gemunan ve þone hálgan drihten!

Ceósan us eard in vuldre!

Gemunan sôð and riht . . . and þone alvaldan ára biddan, it is a disposition of mind which calls forth such words, which disposition in 217 breaks forth in the resolution:—*Uton ácerran þider, þaer he sylfa sit, sigora valdend . . .!* In 299 the subj. follows the idiom with *Uton* closely.

The pronoun subject is often suppressed. Comp. the above quoted passages and Sat. 285, 286.

Further instances:—of *subj.* 1. pl. Ps. 70, 10; of *Uton and infinit.* Exod. 1, 10; Boeth. C. 33, § 1; Beov. 1390; Crist 865; Beda, Rieg. pg. 157, 21 is interesting as instance of the pers. pron. subject in connection with *Uton*:—*Uton ve*

¹ See Burckhardt, *Der Gebrauch des Coniunctives bei Ulfilas.* Leipz. Dissert., pg. 7 c.

vel pære tide bidân. Once we came across the idiom in the 3^d pers. pl. Ps. 136, 7 *Vutun hi idle gedôn, ðð pät hi heora eard geceosan.* Vulg. *Exanimate usque ad fundamentum in ea.* Grein, Gloss. art. *Vutan* takes the word to be conj. adh. 1. pl. of *vitan*¹, but such explanation may hardly be tenable in presence of the 3^d pers. pl. Grein himself alleges from Ps. 73, 8 *Vutan cuman ealle an dūre mágas mid us vutun pider habban.*

Once in Boeth. Cap. 33, § 1, pg. 186 l. *Uton* is used without the infinit., it being evidently understood:—*Uton nu, gif þe swa þince, geecan þone anweald and þ. geniht . . . and gereccan þonne þa þreo to anum. Ða andsworode ic and cwaep: Uton þaes forþum, het is soþ (Let us do so, Cardale).* [In VII, 3, pg. 30 t. the form *Ute* occurs².]

In O. E. *uton* had almost died out. We never came across it. Mätzner, Engl. Gramm. II, pg. 120 alleges three inst³, of which two are from the O. E. Hom. Hennicke in his dissert. *Der Conj. im Alt-Englischen*⁴, pg. 12, quotes Lagam. 20635.

f) With reference to *the 1st p. sg. optat.* an inquiry as to whether the subj. be used with such or such meaning does not lead to any satisfactory result, since the few cases where the moods are formally distinguished, do not serve our purpose, especially not in the case of the præt. praesentia. Then again a make-shift with modal words has taken place just where the subj. might be seen in its peculiarity as f. i. in Ps. 118, 77 *Cumen me þine miltsa mihtum gesvǣdede and ic lange on þām lifian mōte!* Vulg. *Veniant . . . et vivam!*

¹ *Leo*, Ags. Glossar 267, 30 associates it with *vitan* (animadvertere, noscere); in 499, 1 he brings it as interjection.

² Of idioms like *Sing we unto the Lord* (Let us sing unto the Lord) the very instructive Grammar of Greenwood (1711) (see the Introd. to our essay) remarks:—"But this manner of speaking is not to be imitated"; of *Know all Men by these presents!*:—"But here the word *Let* may be understood"!! Cap. 20, pg. 149.

³ See pg. 7, note 2.

Formulae similar to those quoted § 1, a for the 3^d pers. may have been strongly felt as optat¹, to judge from the existence of later idioms like *So the iche, So may I thrive*, not rare with Chaucer; cp. C. T. 16397. *And elles be I hanged by the halse*, *ibid.* 10254.

Before following up optative and jussive subjunctive in O. E., we shall have to mention some other means of uttering commands, exhortations and even wishes to a certain extent, in Ags., because some of them forshadow subsequent idioms.

g) The indic. in its force to denote future events, in the case of the verb subst. provided with a word apart (*byð &c.*), often stands for commands and side by side of the subj.; for, telling what a person will do, may imply that he shall do it¹. Thus it appears in the legal phraseology of the Ags. Laws, f. i. Ines 33 *Cyninges hors-wealh, se þe him mæge geærendian, þæs wer-gield bið CC. scill*; Ines 13 *Gif þeof sȝ gefongen, svelst he deaðe oððe his lif be his were mon alyse*; comp. *ibid.* 15, 19; further Exod. 33, 12; 23, 17; chap. 29 &c. The Lord promised Abraham on Moriah's hill (Exod. Cædm.):—*Ac hie gesittað be saem tveónum oð Egypte in . . geþéode*. — Comp. Cædm. Exod. 563; Exod. 32, 5; 31, 15; Gen. 28, 14; Matth. 3, 10; 4, 10.

In Old English *shall* generally answers to such indicatives. Comp. the two last passages with W. and T.² and further Matth. 5, 37 Ags. and T.

h) Less frequently *sculan* is resorted to; where it turns up in a symbolic sense, not presentive, it is mostly to periphrase the future, as in Deut. 32, 52 *þu scealt geseon þæt land and þu ne cymst þáron. Videbis terram et non ingredieris eam*. But in Ines 64 and 65 *Se þe hæfð twentig hyda, se sceal taecan twelf hida gesettes landes . . and se þe hæfþ tyn hyda, se sceal taecan syx hyda gesettes landes* confronted with 66

¹ Indic. with optative meaning.

² W. = Wycliffe; T. = Tyndale.

Se þe hæfð preora hyda, taece orðres healfes leave not doubt about the identity of the idiom *sceal taecan* with the jussive subjunctive *taece*. Thus *sceal* and the subj. stand side by side in Metr. 16, 1, 5 and 6; 22, 5 and 9. Crist 1579 and 1581. Dan 753 *Svâ þe vurðan sceal* might well be taken optatively. Further inst^s of *sceal*:—Metr. 27, 31; Ps. 144, 3; Crist 581, 766 (1st pers. pl.); Exod. 12, 5; Deut. 27, 13; 31, 16. In Crist 821 *sculan* itself is put in the subj.:—*scyle gumena gehvylc in his geárdagum georne bipencan pāt* &c. So Boeth. Cap. 40, § 3, pg. 364 t.:—*Forþy ne scyle nan wis monn forhtigan ne gnornian* . . . Still in Owl and Nightg. 854 with clear subj. form.

i) Finally we have to quote an idiom given by Aelfr. Gram. pg. 142, rather puzzling because presenting the indic. and not, as we should expect, the subj., namely *éalā gif ic bēo gelufode gyt; éalā gif ðu. byst gelufode; . . hē byð*—., &c. to English the Latin *Utinam amer*,—*ameris*,—*ametur* &c. If it is not only made up for the occasion, but really Ags., it is not likely to mean the same as the idiom which suggested it. In the documents we went through (see the front of the present essay), we never came across it.

§ 2. In *O. E.* opt. and juss. subj. gradually lose of their ancient force, though still freely used even after the time when that great corruption and paring-down of forms had brought indic. and subj. forms almost to one level. There is in Old English an uneasiness about the subj. in its optat. and juss. function often to be witnessed. We get the impression that it won't do; words expressive of wish and command have to help it along and even force the old subj. of the independent sentence into their dependence. But especially the idioms with *may*, *shall* and *let* set in. With Tyndale the new periphrastic opt. (and juss.) will be seen firmly established; in Chaucer's time the Old and the New are struggling hard for ascendant.

a) Even in Ags. there is the verb *viscan*, though scarcely found, which pleonastically serves to express a wish in connection with a dependent subj. Thus we saw it Gen. 17, 18:— *Ic visce, þæt Ysmahél libbe átforan þe*; Ps. 118, 5. In both cases *viscan* is to render the Latin *utinam* with subj.¹

Aelf. hands over to us a precious example proving that the bare subj. was now and then insufficient. St. John's *Filioli mei, non diligamus verbo neque lingua, sed opere et veritate!* is with him—and he means to give a terse translation:— *Mine leófan bearn, ne lufige ve, ic bidde, mid vordê and mid tungan, ac mid veorcê and sôðfästnysse.*

b) In documents of the 12th century and the first part of the 13th, the old subj. (opt. and juss.) is maintained with great tenacy. Hortatives like *Herien we* are frequent in the O. E. Hom. Comp. I. Ser. pg. 7; II. Ser. pg. 9. (Morris) II, 105. From the Ancren Riwe (about 1220), which the editor, J. Morton, believes to be an original work, not a translation from the Latin or the French (v. Pref. XV), we illustrate the use of opt. and juss. subj. with the following samples. 3^d Pl.:—*No þing nabben heo þet hore dame hit nute. Nouðer of þe wummen ne lauhwæn, ne ne pleien* pg. 424. Comp. pg. 428.

3^d Sg.:—*Ne wene non of heie liue þet heo ne beo itempted* pg. 178. Comp., pgg. 70, 92, 178, 18, 226, 228, 286, 428.

2^d Pl.:—*And ge don also* pg. 246 (princip. sent).

1st Pl.:—pg. 104 *Speke we nu*. Comp. 302.

In the 2^d p. the imperat. is usual to express commands; where the optat. appears in a Lat. quotation, it is Englished by a compound sentence as pg. 80 *Non habeatis linguam vel aures prurientes* = *Loced*, (seið sein Jerome), *þet ge nabben &c.*; *Ne nos inducas in tentationem* is thus shaped at pg. 228 *Ne suffre þu nout þet þe ueond allunge lede us*

¹ In Aelfr.'s Gram. we find *utinam amem*,—*ames* &c. englished by *forgife god, Paet ic lufige gyt.*—*Paet ðu lufige.*—*lufige.*—*pl.*—*wê lufjon*;—*gê lufjon*;—*hi lufjon*, pg. 132.

into *uondunge*. Comp. the princip. indep. sentence:—*þet tu sigge to þe preoste*, pg. 340.

Beoð turns up as in Ags. to utter commands, as f. i. in pg. 36 *þe vreisuns beoð þeos!*

So the first attack to upset the optat. comes from the side of the 2^d pers.

But the subj. loses ground also elsewhere. *Motan* appears in the 3^d p. sg., pg. 26; the same page has *þet it so mote beon* (*So may it be*, Morton) for the Ags. *Vese svā, vese svā* of the Psalms (see § 1, a).

At pg. 360 *Let oðre atiffen here bodi* stands alongside of *abide we* . . &c.; although *let* is still reserved to its permissive sense (else it would not have been rejected for the parallel hortative *abide we*), it does clear up how easy a transition it was to widen the compass of its purport to exhortation and wish. Similar examples are not wanting in Ags. Exod. 5, 17 *Eamus et sacrificamus domino* runs thus in Ags. *Laetað us faran and offrian ūrum gode*. It is true, the Ags. writer reports the word as a permission asked, dependent of *for þam ge biddað*, whereas the Latin¹, which Grein supposes to be the original, makes it depend. on *dicitis*; the adhortative shade of meaning however may have been present to the Anglo-Saxon. Comp. Elen. 819. And. 397, as for similar use of *laetan*.

c) Further examples of optat. and jussive in the before said period and later on:

Orm (about 1200 or 1215) *þatt wite he wel to soþe* 110 (M. Poesie, pg. 6). Liff. of St. Jul. (about 1230) *liðin and lustnin* pg. 2. Gen. and Exod. (same date) 1939; Bestiary (same d.) *helde we it wurdlic* 233; 230, 231, 303, 723. Pater Nost. M. Poesie, pg. 50, 26; Serm. II, pg. 50, 2. M. Prosa.

For the old bare opt., a cumbrous idiom is seen Owl and Nightg. (about 1240) 991 *So be it . . that thu bo*; in 985 the

¹ As given below the Ags. text in the "Bibliothek der angels. Prosa".

nightingale hurls her execration at her antagonist the owl:—*Ever mote thu golle and wepen . . . An gollen mote thu so hege That thu berste bo thin ege!* Comp. K. Horn 327, 332. Sarmun Mätz. Poesie pg. 115 et seqq.; 17.

d) As to *the 2^d pers. sg.* there is a puzzling idiom to be set forth:—*Bliscedd tu be* and *Blessed beo thu* have become equally frequent. Thus in Ave Maria Mätz. Poesie pg. 50 &c. and Hymn. to the Virg. *ibid.* pg. 53 et seqq. II, 1; 33; 49, Gaudia *ibid.* (pgg. 51 et 52) 12; 36; 39 &c., the pers. pronoun stands first. In Gaud. (*ibid.*) 58; Hymn. to the Virg. *ibid.* II, 1; 33; 49 and elsewhere, it comes last. The just quoted documents probably belong all to the first part of the 13th cent. In K. Horn, we do best to observe here, both idioms (pronoun before and pron. after the verb) interchange at every moment and in other documents of O. E. we notice the same use of *thou* followed by the verbal form without the pers. suffix *-st*. Comp. Rob. of Glouc. I, 46; II, 122. Leg. of St. Marg. 189. Whether imperat^a or subj^a does not become evident from the forms as such; to judge from their use both are without doubt imperat^a in most places.

e) There is a wonderful contrast between the Ancren Riwe or the Liffade of St. Juliana and K. Horn or the Havelock; between the beginning and the end of the 13th cent. K. Edward I.'s reign opens a new era for E. philology:—The old inflexions are pared away, the power of compounding words is gone, the word-store of ancient times is finally abandoned; shoals of French words supply the losses. For us the New means beginning use of periphrases for opt. and jussive. Had we prose works from the end of the century, the contrast would be more striking yet, for poetry clings to the Old.

In 1258 Henri III proclaims:—*And noan ne nime of loande ne of egte*¹. . ., in the French original *et ke nul ne preigne*

¹ Mätz. A.-E. Prosa, pg. 54, 11.

de terre ne de moeble . . . ; but in a song about the battle of Lewes 1264, probably composed shortly after that event, although the MS. dates from the time of Edw. II (1307—1327), Richard, “Kyng of Alemaigne”, is thus cursed by the people:—*Let him habbe, ase he brew, bale to dryng, maugre Wyndesore* (M. Poesie, pg. 153, 11). King Horn’s companions would like to be knights. They ask:—*Let him us alle knigte, For pat is ure rigte*. 515 (end of the 13th cent.). This is a jussive. Wishes, sayings, formulæ like *Crist þe wisse And giue þe heuene blisse* 413, *Christ him lene spede* 461, are still expressed by the bare subj. and will be so yet for a long time. They still survive among us. When witnesses are sworn in, they keep to the formula of old:—*So help me God!* Compare besides the inst^t given § 1 a. Further K. Horn 961 *Knaue, wel þe bitide*, beside *wel mote þe tide* 204; Vox and Wolf (Edw. I.’s reign) 130; Ayenb. of Inw. 114, 18; R. R. d. Hamp. Prose Treat. M. 152, 21. Chauc. R. R. 42; Cant. Tales 6846, 7192, 16627. Maundev. Trav. 215, 5.

f) The lingering love for the subj. as adhortative transpires clearly in Chaucer and Maundeville. *Go we than soupe*. C. T. 11522; *Afterward speke we of scorning; Speke we now of wicked conseil*, Pers. T., pg. 549 h. and m., do not stand by themselves; in 4533 *Herken what is the sentence of the wise, Bet is to dien than have indigence*, we are sure to have an adhort., although the person is questionable. Maundeville’s easy style keeps to the simple *Make we here 3 dwellyng places* for *Faciamus tria tabernacula* (About 1356) M. Prosa, pg. 216, 24. Some 30 years later Chaucer’s Merchant tells his listeners how God said before creating Eve:—*Let us now make an helpe unto this man* C. T. 9202. Four hundred years earlier the phrase ran thus:—*Uton vircean him summe fultum* Gen. 1, 26.

g) Chaucer still uses his *Go we* and the like as freely as the writer of Beket’s life could say *Wende we* at the end of the 13th cent. (M. Poesie, pg. 186, 2166), or as R. R. de Hampole

deals with *Begynne we* (Prose Treat. M. 131, 4) or *thanke we* (ibid. 149, 26) in the earlier half of the 14th; but on the other hand *Go we dine* is coupled with *Let us here a masse* 13153 C. T.; side by side of *God give his soule rest* we find *Let him farewel* 6083; not only *The foule fend use fetche* 7192, but also *Let him go honge himself a devil way* 7824.; the Parson does not only announce the transition to another subject by *Speke we now of . . .* (P. Tale, pg. 549 m.), but also by *Let us than speke of . . .* ibid. 548. Comp. 546, 547, 564.—The advice *No man ne trust upon hire favour long* (i. e. Fortune's favour) C. T. 14642 will be seen couched also in this shape: *Let no man trust on blinde prosperitee* 14003 ibid. A jussive like *Chese he for me whether he wol live or die* ibid. 11398 has been disguised 7116 by *Let him be trewe, and part it with his brother*. Compare furthermore as for the 3^d pers. sg. 9850, 5581, 5582, 11398, where the bare subj. stands alongside of *let*, 15216, 16205, 16305, 16572, 16910; as for the use of *let* in the 1st pers. pl.:—4123, 4451, 4590, 5566, 7102, 7151, 9038, 10021, 10192, 10194, 12817, 12901, 13135, beside the inst^a already referred to.—Compared with the Ags. idiom *Vuton* and the infinit, *let* has the advantage of fitting the negation, whereas the former is possible but in affirmative clauses (see § 1 c.).

Let itself appears as subj. in the execrative formula *God let him never the*. C. T. 7788. Comp. 7813.

h) The rivalry between the Old and New may of course be witnessed in other documents as well. Comp. Gawayne 248 and 292 M.; from about 1350 (see M. Poesie, pg. 278) *Lat we this god wyn in us sink And birl we him tharof to drinc*. Metr. Hom. I, 157. R. R. de Hampole teaches about the same time:—*His neghtebour hym awe to lufe als hymselfe . . . ; and pat he lufe his neghtbour saule mare pan his body*. Prose Treat. 130, 19. The subj. supported by the introductory particle *that* might be found to depend on *awe* (*ought*), in spite

of its great distance from that word; but in case of *He shal be p[ut] out of þe bretherhede, and þe ober have his accoun by þ' lawe and þe forsaide bretherhede shul be helpyng ageins þ' rebelle*, found in an ordonnance of a gild begun 1375, Origin. Ord. of E. Gilds, pg. 5, a similar interpretation will fall short.; Comp., *ibid.* pg. 3. *Shall* and the subj., whether supported by *that* or not, very frequently interchange in the legal phraseology of those documents.

i) The Bible has always clung fast to traditional language. While in the writers of the day the change just outlined took place, Wycliffe boldly held up the Ags. optative in his Gospel. He began to translate about 1380. It is true he has the Latin under his eyes to induce him to keep to the Old; but Chaucer (if so be that he is the translator of the Romaunt of the Rose), versifying some 10 or 15 years before, Englishes the French *Qui amer vuel or i entende* (R. de la R., pg. 67, Michel) by *Who-so luste love, late hym entende*.

Sit autem sermo vester Matth. 5, 37, *Sijaip-pan vaurd izvar* in Gothic; *Si eower spraec* in Ags., is still with Wycliffe *Be goure word*; *Sede earan haebbe to gehyrynne, gehyre* still . . . *here he*. Matth. 11, 15. Comp. Marc. 4, 9 and further: Matth. 13, 43; 16, 24; 6, 3; 19, 12; John 7, 37. In all these inst* the Old is maintained.

Now if we tide over about 140 years or so, Tyndale meets us with a new language:—*But your comunicacion shal be* (see before); *Let him here*. Comp. further the above quoted pass* in Tyndale's Gospel.—*Det ei libellum repudii*, Matth. 5, 31, *he sylle hyra hyra hiw-gedales boc* in Ags., is with Tynd.:—*Let hym geve her &c.* *Sic luceat lux ut videant*, Matth. 5, 16, *Sva liuhjtai liuhap izvar &c.* in Goth., . . . *Swa onlihte . . .* in Ags., . . . *So shyenne . . .* in Wycliffe's Gospel:—*Se that youre light so shyne &c.*—Only when *that* supports the subj. (see § 2 h), then Tynd. dispenses with *shall* or *let*:—Matth. 22, 24, *if a man dye . . . that the brother mary his wyfe*;

Wycl. and Ags. present the same construction, a reflex of the Latin:—*Ut ducat frater ejus uxorem illius*. In Matth. 6, 4 *Ut sit eleemosyna tua in abscondito*, Tynd. has *That* followed by *may be*. Wycl. and the Ags. version show the subj. after *that*.

When an Anglo-Saxon had come to the end of a chapter, he used to say:—*Ac beó peós bôc hêr geendod* (Aelfr. de Vet. Test., pg. 6, 30), or *Uton laetan þonne bion þas spræce* (Boeth.¹) If we were to put up with the present one by a word of Chaucer's, we could only say:—*But let us waden out of this matere*. C. T. 9558. Such is the distance which separates the Old from the New;—Aelfric from Chaucer².

§ 3. The examples of optat³ hitherto alleged³, have been but of the present stem. As for the pret. stem, it is very rare. According to Mätzner (Engl. Gramm. II, pg. 121 t. 2^d ed.) the older tongue misses inst³ altogether. We found f. i.:—*Eá lâ! þát hit vurde oððe volde god, þát on eorðan nu ussa tida* &c. Metra 8, 39. Aelfric's Gram. opposes to the Lat. *utinam amatus essem*,—*esses* &c., the Ags. *éalá gif ic wære fulfremedlice gelufod, éalá gif ðú wære*,—*gif hé wære* &c., pg. 141. That such forms were unwont, seems to result from the following pass. of the same book, pg. 125:—*utinam amarem deum, éalá gif ic lufode god, swylce ðú cwede: forgeáfe god, þæt ic hine lufode*. Ags. expresses its unrealizable wishes in sentences subordinate to some verb of wishing. (See § 4 et seqq.)

¹ We unfortunately lost the exact reference.

² We would not in the preceding chapter swell the list of examples unnecessarily, since further amplification may be gathered from § 17 et seqq.

³ One opt. expressing permission merits further mentioning:—A. R. pg. 418 *Stamin habbe hwose wule* = *Let whoso will wear a stamin* (i. e. a kind of shirt).

B. IN THE DEPENDENT SENTENCE.

1. IN THE OBJECTIVE, SUBJECTIVE AND PREDICATIVE SENTENCE.

§ 4. As long as a wish is the speaker's wish, the simple opt. is sufficient to express it; if any other person's wish, a new sentence has to be made up, expressive of that reference. Again, if the substance of the wish as uttered by the opt., appears at the same time as a will, a fervent desire, a request, a command, a permission, an advice, or as necessary, needed, advisable, good, becoming, special sentences are wanted to put forth such qualities of the optat. Hence the opt. in dependent clauses as object, subject or predicate of those additional sentences (governing sentences) which consist of verbs personally and impersonally used, of impersonal verbs and expressions, idioms with adjectives and substantives, suggestive of the above stated qualities of the wish.

While mere juxtaposition of the two kinds of sentences spoken of, is met with in Ags. and especially in O. E., the sentences require to be joined together, if the matter wished for of one sent., happens to be the object kept in view when the action of the other sent. is in doing. That junction is ordinarily effectuated by *that*, Ags. *pät*, originally and properly a demonstrative pronoun denoting the inner object of the principal sentence as part of it, but then moved on into the dependent clause. (See Erdmann, Syntax Otfrids §§ 97 and 98.) The same conjunction mostly connects the former kinds of sentences.

a) As regards mere juxtaposition, it takes exclusively place in Ags. without affecting the order of words in the optat. clause, as in:—*And ic bidde ealle þa ða aefter me cumen, beon hi mine sunnes*. Chron. anno 656, pg. 32 E. Then the opt. clause continues to be the principal one; *ic bidde* merely serves to render clear and distinct the relation between

the wish *beon hi mine sunnes* and the originator. Comp. Gúthl. 670 *bíbeád*:—*Ne sǵ him bánes bryce ne blódig vund. Crist 230.*

b) In O. E. mere juxtaposition and that more intimate connection by a change in the respective position of subject and verb (in the present case subject before verb instead of subj. after verb as in the independent clause) are in great favour. Comp. Horn 452. *And seie he holde foreward* = *and bid him that he hold forward*. Further examples:—

Hit is mi rede . . . þou spen it wel Sarmun 61, Mätz. Poesie, pg. 116. Deb. of Body and Soul 271. Hymn. to the Virgin (Mätz. Poesie, pg. 53. I, 5.) 1st part of the 13th cent.:—*Ic crie to the, thou se to me*¹ (comp. W. and T. in Matth. 8, 4. *See, say thou to ne man, Vide nemini dixeris*). R. of the Rose 2175 *Velanye, atte the bigynnyng I wole, sayde Lovc, over alle thyng Thou leve, if thou ne wolt be Fals. &c. = veil et commant Que tu guerpisses sans reprendre Se tu ne veulz vers moi mesprendre*. R. de la R., pg. 68; R. R. 2517 *Werfore I rede . . . Thou be welle ware that men ne wite &c.*

c) The opt. subj. in the depend. sent. linked together with the governing one by a conjunction (*þät*) so frequently occurs, that it is enough subjoining simply a list² of the principal verbs after which it stands, with some references to places.

§ 5. Modal words expressing clearly and conspicuously the ideas of wish and command &c., i. e. the ideas implied by the

¹ It has to be remarked that we might here well be in presence of imperatives (See § 2 d.); from the 13th cent. the pers. pron. very often is seen to precede the imperat.—Then again the imperat. is often combined with a verb of asking, requesting, &c., as:—*I prey the kepe it wele*. R. R. de Hamp. Prose Treat. 143, 9; 148, 3.

² See pg. 30 et seqq.

old opt. itself, come in the bolder, the more the characteristics of the optat. forms disappear. That paring-down of forms accomplished itself in the period 1230—1280. Hence the *inroad of periphrases* towards the end of the 13th century. It is not our task to follow it up, for we treat of the use of the subj. and mood is not distinguishable in them just where they appear most frequently, in the pret., from late Ags. As seen in some of the following instances, the modal words were originally all in *the subj.*:—

a) *Sculan* in accordance with its nature is used after verbs of desiring and commanding especially, already in Ags. and frequently in late Ags., f. i. in the later parts of the Chronicles.

Instances:—Gen. 774; 800 *forþon he unc self bebeád, þät vit unc vite varian sceolden, hearma maestne*. Dan. 211 (*sceolde* = *subj. plur.* depending on *concväd, commanded*). Andr. 1699. Aelfr. Vorred. z. Gen. 22, 4. Chron. 656, pg. 33 E.; 675, pg. 37 (after *biddan*), pg. 39 E.; 977 B.; 1008 E.; 1013 E.; 1046 E.; 1083, 1087 E., pg. 226; 1048 E., pg. 179; 1124 E., pg. 253. Orm. 24.

Thus *sculan* becomes more and more frequent. From the latter part of the 13th cent. especially, it is so common that we leave off putting down instances¹. In return the mere opt. subj. having become scarce, then begins to attract our attention more closely. (See the list, pg. 30 et seqq.).

b) *Môtan* is used after verbs of wishing, asking. Beov. 364 *hy bēnan synt, þät hie . . . (they petition that)* 960. Gen. 2518 *lyfað me þær ære and reste, þät ve aldornere on Sigor up sēcan môten*. (Here the depend. sent. borders hard upon the final sent.) Andr. 1417 (*subj. pres.*). Jud. 183. Ps. 121, 9. Gûthl. 381 and 382. Chron. 1006 E., pg. 141 (*pret.*); 1064 E.;

¹ Cp. f. i. K. Horn 764. *Berild gan him preie, þat he scholde him seie*. Cant. T. 6541, 6614, 12875 (*shal*).

1086 E., pg. 221 m.; 1051 F., pg. 182. Beket 1822, 1824. Pers. Tale, pg. 519.

c) *Wolde* (*Willan*) belongs especially to the final sentence. Whereas *motan* as symbolic verb becomes more and more obsolete in O. E., *willan* turns to ever growing importance.

§ 6. The optat. subj. has furthermore a powerful rival in the wide-spread and free¹ *use of the infinit.* in O. E., as opposed to the verb finite in favour with Ags.² As the infinit. is not the subject of our present inquiry, it is for us enough to say, that the beginnings of such usage are found in Ags.:—*sēcan gevite I go in order to seek*. Rāts. 17, 2; 14, 11; similar idioms:—Judith 15, 194, 243, 250, 253. Dan. 76, 53. After *biððan*:—Dan. 359. Lagam. 14377 Calig.; but Otho has verb finite, pret. subj. *gefue* gave (*gef* is the indic., see 14381, 14396). Gen. and Exod. 2376 &c., &c., 2503. Horn 504; *bebeóðan*:—Andr. 774, 776, 778, 780, 785 depending on 774. Elene 980—981; *hátan*:—Beov. 293. And. 796. Crist 294, 297. Elene 279. Chron. 1084 E., pag. 180.—

Ten Commandm. Mätz. Poesie 129, 5 *Man and womman ic red be ware*, but 21 *Ich rede þat euch be ware i-wiss*. After *birrp* (*decet*) very often in Orm:—27, 35, 40, 51, 85, 11492, 11400 &c.; *behoves* (*decet*) R. R. de Hamp. Prose Tr. 135, 23; 149, 19.

Infinit. and subj. are sometimes indiscriminately used, as Ayenb. of Inw. 66, 7 contrasted with 65, 6.

¹ Comp. f. i. *gíf me deien, let me die* A. R., pgg. 38, 40; furtherm., pg. 108. Serm. ag. Miracle-Pl. Mätz. 242, 21.

² Comp. John 11, 31. *Heo gaeþ . . . ðæt heo wêpe* with W. and T. So Ags. Matth. 5, 34; 16, 15; 16, 2 with W. and T.—Ags. indulged in combinations like *ic hogade þæt ic volde*. Sat. 84. *ic forhycge þæt ic môte*. Phön. 55, 2. Comp. Boeth. 11, 1. Ps. 118, 146. Even infinit³ might depend on infinit², as Elene 276.

List of Verbs and Expressions (pres. and pret.) followed by the opt. subj.¹ (pres. and pret., but mostly pres.).

See § 4 c. (Where the pret. occurs, it is marked).

a) *Viscan* (See § 2 a.). *Villan*, Gûthl. 735; Chron. pg. 38 A° 675; Ayenb. of Inw. 105, 3; R. of the Rose 1942, 1996. *Vîlnan*, Boeth. 14, 2. *Unnan*, Beov. 960, *ûde ic sviðor, þæt þu hine selfne geseôn mōste*. *Girnen*, A. R. 400. *Lufian*, Ags. Gosp. Matth. 6, 5; Psalm 83, 12, *god lufað . . . , þæt man sî mildheort mōðe sōðfäst*. *Biddan*, Andr. 1417; Hymn and Geb. 3, 49; Boeth. 22, 1; Chron. 1016 C. and E. (pret.); Orm. 97; Owl and Nightg. 927; St. Margar. 320; Beket 2274 (perf.); Horn 79 (pres. after pret. !); W. de Shoreh. 353. *Prayen*, Cant. Tales 6637, 11379 (after imperat.). *Siken*, *Bisechen*, A. R. 32, 234, 390. *Cleopen*, Liff. of St. Jul., pg. 74. *Hālsian*, Crist 23; Satan 425; Boeth. 22, 2; Ags. Matth. 26, 63; A. R. 348. *Conjuren*, *Chargen*, (Wycl. and Tynd. respectively) Gosp. Matth. 26, 63. *Epen*, Sir Gaw. 379. *Requyre*, Tynd. Mark. 5, 7. *Asken*, Ayenb. of Inwyt. 70, 5. *Genēdan*, Metra 4, 15; Ags. Matth. 27, 32. *Secgan* (to give order), Gûthl. 1166, 1167; Matth. 6, 25; Ags. Exod. 6, 10; K. Horn 964; Matth. 6, 25 Ags. W. T. *Cȳðan* (to give order), Exod. 19, 21; Matth. 28, 10. *Hātan*, Beket 2037 (hoten); Ayenb. of Inw. Zupitza Uebgsb. XXIII, 92. *Laeran* (to advise), Crist 816; Elene 524; A. R. 322. *Mindgian*, Boeth. 11, 2. *Gebeacnian*, Boeth. 11, 1. *Be-beōdan*, Andr. 1331, 729 (As to O. E. see *comanden*). *Cveðan*, *oncveðan* (to give order), Elene 169 (pret.). *Comanden*, Maundev. 242, 10 *and he comaundide to me that I were duke upon the puple*.—We still find in W. the simple perf. of the verb, though generally *sceolde* &c. is used in that tense (see § 5 a.):— *and Pharisees*

¹ We wish to direct attention to the O. E. cases of optat* still retained, as forming a contrast to the cases of modal verbs (see § 5), whereas Ags. opt* are too frequent to require anything else but a few hints.

hadden gowuen a maundement, that if ony mon knew wher he is, he shewe &c., corresponding to Ags. *ða Pharisei haefdon beboden, gif hwá wiste hwar he waere, ðaet he hyt cýdde*. John 11, 57. In Beket 2020 *an heste we habbeth ibrogt That thu do* the subj. will have to be explained as optat. and not as subj. of the orat. obl. (at that time, end of the 13th cent., already beginning to die out). *Getten* (to grant), Poem. Mor. 122 (after optat). *Granten*, Owl and Nightg. 745, *Ich graunti that we go . . . to dome To-fore the sulfe pope of Rome*; R. of the R. 42 (after optat.). *Týðian*, Chron., pg. 123. *Leven* (to permit), Dame Siriz 147 (optat.); Cant. T. 6519. *Suffren*, W. John 12, 7, *Suffre ge hir, that she kepe that &c.* Vulg.:—*sinite eam ut servet illud*; Ags. *Laetan*:—*Læt hig, ðaet heo healde ða of ðone daeg &c.* *Raedan*, Exod. 271; Lagam. 14127; Pers. Tale, pg. 572. *Conseilen*, Tale of Mel., pg. 144 (Ald. ed., vol. III).

NOTE.—The fact that Ags. admits the anticipation of the act in the dependent sentence by the indic.¹ is pointed out in Mätzner Engl. Gr. II, pg. 124 m., 2nd ed. We add a conclusive instance from the Chronicles:—1039 E. *ða hi geraedden þet man geald ? scipon aet. aelcre hamelan VIII marc.*;—from Old E. where, as we shall see at several occasions, the tendency exists to replace the subj. pret. of ancient times by the indicat.:—*þo bad he him an abbei, þat he was forþon ibrogt*. Dunst. 39; comp. 2274 *And bad him . . . That he were ischryve*.

b) *Is willa ðaet*, Ags. Gosp. John 6, 40. W. and T.². *bið him neód micel þät*, Phön. 189, 432. *is neod þet*, A. R. 374, 378; O. E. H. (Morris) I. Ser., pg. 9. *neod þet* (= *they need that*), A. R. 74. *is þearf þät*, Boeth. 37, 2. *hábbe ic þearfe þät*, Hymn. and Geb. IV, 33 et seqq. *is healic raed þät*, Crist 430. *is vārlic þät*, Genes. 41, 33 (*inouh hit*

¹ Compare besides the cases of indic* in the final clause § 7 b.

² The nature of the subj. after the following expressions if negat. is not that of the optat.

is with indic. pres. A. R. 340. *me is leofre pät*, Beov. 2653; Boeth. 10; A. R. 186, 420 . . . so ge don. *is ärlie pät*, Gûthl. 497. *is vyrðe pät*, Jul. 103, 645. *riht is*, Cædm. Gen. 1; Boeth. 38, 3; A. R. 428; O. E. H. II. S., 17. As legal term it abounds in the Ags. Laws (Comp. Hlôdh. and Eadr. dômas). *hit is god and wynsum pät*, Boeth. 14, 3; 25; 31, 1 (With indic. pres. f. i. Metr. 13, 46). *ðæt is nu paes lichoman god pät* and the like:—Boeth. 34, 6; A. R. 66; Hamp. Prose Treat. 141, 27. *is betre pät*, Matth. 5, 29 Ags., Tynd. and Wycl.; Tale of Mel., pg. 159 Ald. edit., vol. III. *it spedith to him that*, Wycl. Matth. 18, 6. *sêlre byð pät*, Andr. 320. *gebyraþ pät*, Ags. Gosp. John 3, 30. *cymb pät*, Mark. 4, 21. *geriseð pät*, Crist 3; O. E. H. II. Ser. 109. *behôfað pät*, Red. d. Seel. 1; Ps. 132, 1; Maundev. 163, 7; Chauc. Pers. T. 572. *gedafenað pät*, And. 317. *is bod pät*, Phôn. 68.

c) In the moral treatises of O. E. the subj. is very common after idioms like:—*sarinesse beoð, is halwende þet*, O. E. H. II. Ser. 103. *remedie is that*, Pers. Tale, pg. 572. *metnesse is þet (temperantia)*, O. E. H. II. Ser. 105. *Pete is that (Pity is that)*, Hamp. Prose Treat. 131, 14; (*werk of brihtnesse is thet*) *strenuitas continentia is þet*, Serm. II; Mätz. Prosa, pg. 51, 8; 51, 10 &c.; *is penaunce that*, Pers. Tale 513 (after *werk of besternisse is that* the indic., comp. *ibid.*, pg. 50, 13. So after *vice is thet*, Ayenb. of Inw. 88, 2; *arrogance is thet*, *ibid.* 77, 24 &c.). After expressions meaning *it is the practice, the custom that*, the indic. is frequent:—Andr. 177; Walf. 31; Boeth. 5, 3; Lagam. 14325 (*Hit beoð tidende*, MS Calig. *Hit is þe wone* Otho.—Further examples of expressions followed by the subj.:—*svâ nu äva sceal vesan pät*, Gûthl. 642. *is tid is vynne tid pät*, Gûthl. 1269; Ps. 118, 126. *It is resoun that*, Tale of Mel. 179. *signe is that*, Pers. Tale 576. *is. condition of confession that*, *ibid.* 576, 577 and the like. *is Godes weorc ðæt*, John 6, 29 Ags.

d) The subj. after expressions meaning *it is the nature that*, even if they refer to natural phenomena and not only to ethics, is remarkable. At the bottom of it lies the view conversant with the times concerned in our inquiry, of nature being at the mercy of a personal will governing it from without. Comp. f. i. Boeth. 34, 10, pg. 232 m. *forþam ælces landes gecynd is, þ. hit him gelice wyrta and gelicne wudu tydrige, and hit swa dep.* Furthermore:—*gecynd is pät*, Boeth. 14, 3; 34, 12. *gebyrde is pät*, Elene 593. *on äðele bið pät*, Metra 13, 51. Similarly the subj. will have to be looked upon in *forðam ðe seldhvonne biþ þ. te auht manegum monnum anes hwaet licige*, Boeth. 18, 3. The indic. of course is not excluded in as much as the fact may always be conceived but as fact, and not as fact required, demanded; comp. f. i. Boeth. 34, 6 *ac þaera lima gecynd is þ. hie gewyrcaþ aenne lichoman.*

2. IN THE FINAL (AND TEMPORAL) SENTENCE.

§ 7. The subj. stands in the final clause to express the purpose, realized or not realized, of the action of the main sentence. Hence the subj., pres. and pret., after verbs of Purpose, of Aiming, Aspiring, Intending, and also after sentences containing a purpose not directly expressed by such verbs. A subject matter, though appearing as end of an other activity, may however be looked upon but in its character of objective reality, without any regard to its being the object kept in view when another action is going on. Hence the indic. in the final clause. If the governing verb implies a call to act in view of another matter, then the end is not allowed to be taken up in its character of fact though it be so, the summons keeping up its character of intentional action. Hence the subj. after imperat¹ and optat¹.

¹ This subj. might also be explained from the law of symmetry of moods established § 17 et seqq.

In the final period principle and subordinate clause are related as action and purpose. Now action and purpose may answer to cause and effect at the same time. Hence interlacing of final clauses with consecutive clauses. If the latter relation be proximate, the indicative also appears in the final sent. as when the sentences are solely related as cause and effect, i. e. in the case of the consecutive sent. (See § 8).

In the following we shall give examples and references to examples to illustrate what has been established before:—

a) The subjunctive.

1. Subj. pres.:—Phōnix 462 *glādmōð gyrneð pāt he gōdra maest daeda gefremme*. Sat. 195 (*sceal gehycgan*) 283. Jul. 19, 326, 336, 410; Gen. 397, 693, 2356; Beov. 2806 *se sceal tō gemyndum mīnum leódum heáh hlifian on Hrones nāsse, pāt hit saeliðend siððan hātan Bióvulfes biorh*. Exod. 294; Crist 398; Elene 553; Ps. 118, 60; 125, 1 *drihten vyle gedōn āfter, pāt he . . . āhveorfe*. Gen. 19, 13; Chron., pg. 39 *ðas landes ic gife See. Peter eal swa freolice swa ic seolf hit ahte and swa þ. man min aefter gengles þaer nan þing of ne nime*. Chron., pg. 31 E. Boeth. 24, 3, pg. 128 m.; 33, 2; 34, 7. *Sume earniaþ þ. hie sien þȝ cafran*, pg. 224 m. Metra 20, 272. *Hvāt! þu sōfte gedēst, pāt hi þe selfne gesiōn mōten!*

2. Subj. pres. and imperat:—Gen. 575 *Span þu hine georne, pāt he þīne lāre laeste*. Sat. 688; Crist 160; 342 (*pāt ne*); 367 (*help pāt*); 441 (*sēc pāt*); Jul. 253; 731 (*forgif us pāt*). Andr. 1184 (*Gāð pāt*); 1214; 1335. Hymn. and Geb. 17, 84 (*forgif pāt*). Metra 20, 262 (*. . pāt ve mōten*). Exod. 4, 21. *Vite þu georne, pāt þu dō ealle þā þācn, þe ic þe bebedād (Vide . . . ut facias.)*. 10, 11. Deuteron. 4, 1; 5, 12; Matth. 2, 8; 7, 1; John 17, 1; Ps. 118, 169, 170; 71, 1; 77, 1; 82, 12; 107, 11.

3. Subj. pres. and opt.:—Crist 1586; Metra 21, 8; Boeth. 23; 40, 2; Aelfr. De Nov. Test. 21, 39; Ps. 94 *Vutun*

his ansýne aerest sêcean, þät ve andettan ðre fyrene &c. Deut. 28, 25 *Dô drihten þät þu fealle.*

4. Subj. pres. depending on sculan and infinit.:—Beov. 20 *Svā sceal [gleāv gu]ma gôðe gevircean fromum feohgiftum on fāder ārne, þät hine on ylde eft gevunigen vilgesīdas, þonne vīg cume.* Crist 749; Elene 677 (*maege*). Metra 16, 1; 23, 9.

5. Subj. pret.:—Dan. 77 *Onsende þā sīnra þegna vorn þās verudes vest tō fēran, þät him þāra leōða land geheōlde ēðne ēðel āfter Ebrēum.* Gen. 2030; Phōn. 573 *þus frōd guma in fyrndagum gieddade gleāvmōd, godes spelboda, ymb his aeriste in ēce lif, þät ve þý geornor ongietan meahten tīrfāst tācen &c.* (= .. announced that we might the more clearly understand &c.). Gūthl. 84; Crist 1431 *ac ic on magugeōguðe yrmðu geāfnede, ārleās liscār, þät ic þurh þā vaere þe gelic and þu meahte mīnum veorðan maegolite gelic mānē bidæled &c.* Comp. 1461 ... *þät þu mōste*; 1468 (*þät þu meahte*); 1427 *þät þu mōste*; 1513. Metra 17, 1 *þät eorðvaran ealle hāfden foldbūende fruman gelicne, hī of ānum tvaem ealle cōmon.* Ps. 105, 19; Dan. 218; Sat. 645.

The negative final sentence chiefly takes the conjunction *þý lās* (*þé lās*) always followed by the subj.

b) As regards the indic., it is a noticeable fact, that it not uncommonly appears where there can be no doubt about the purpose of the main act being predicated by the dependent sentence, that is to say, in true final sentences. Pres.:—Beov. 3103 *Ic eōv vīsige, þät genōge neón sceāviað beāgas and brād gold.* Phōnix 168 *Him se claena þaer ððscūfeð scearþlice, þät he in scade veardað on vudubearve vēste stōve* (... dass er im Schatten wohne, Grein). Dan 571; Elen. 933; Phōnix 175, 347, 383 (*mōt*) ("möge"! Grein). Crist 479, 1533; Jul. 371, 373 and 374; Rāts. 31, 6; Metra 5, 44. After *dōn*, *gefremman*, *gevyrcan*, the indic. is the rule, except in the cases mentioned a 2—4. Jul. 125 *Ic þät gefremme ... þät þu ungeara ealdrē*

scyldig purh deóra gripe deáðê sveltest. Aelfr. dôm. 34; Metra 29, 67; Matth. 4, 19; Lev. 26, 9; Gen. 17. 6; Exod. 16, 12; Deut. 28. 11 *Drihten gedêð pät þu hæfst älces gôdes genôh, abundare te faciet dominus omnibus bonis*; but verse 25 *Do drihten, pät þu fealle beforan þinum feondum, tradat te dominus corruentem ante hostes tuos*, owing to the opt. Phönix 538 (gevyrcan). Exod. 8, 22 (gevyrcan).

The examples of Num. 23, 11 and 24, 10 which Mätzner (Gramm. II, pg. 138, 2^d ed.) alleges as striking examples of the indic. in the final clause do not present discernible moods (*virigdest* = 2^d pers. pret., see Introd. II).

That the indic. may besides stand in the final clause even if dependent on the optat. evinces from Metra 22, 13 . . . *pät hit mäg findan eall on him innan.*

The instances given hitherto were but of the pres. In the pret. the indic. too is met with in decidedly final clauses, f. i. in Gûthl. 1302 . . . *gevât þá ôfestlice beorn unhydig, pät he bät gestág.* Comp. 1308. A remarkable passage is Jul. 290—310, where the indic. pret. occurs after *ic gecræfte pät* 290; *ic bispeón pät* 294; *ic gelaerde pät* 297, 307; *ic bisveac pät* 302.

As to the use of mood-symbolics, see § 5. *Wolde* especially comes in often:—f. i. Matth. 22, 11; 22, 15; John 12, 12; Exod. 18, 13 *sät Moises pät he volde dêman þam folce.*

c) With reference to Old English, the subj. is encroached upon by mood-symbolics and by infinitive constructions in the same way as pointed out speaking of the optat. subj. in the dependent sentence as object, subject and predicate. See §§ 5 and 6. *May* is frequent in Hampole's Prose Treat, f. i. 132, 9, 10. So Maundev. 159, 4. The simple opt. subj. is by no means wanting, especially not in the pres., comp. O. E. H., I. Ser. 113, 93; A. R. 12254, 292, 218 &c.; Liff. of St. Jul., pg. 34, MS. Bodl.; Owl and Nightg. 925, 971; Fragm. of Pop. Sc. 182; Margar. 80, 145; Beket 2424, pret. (rhyme); Tristr. 99, 3¹;

¹ Contiguity of the final sent. with the temporal one.

pret. :—Ayenb. of Inw. 78, 6; 91, 8; Hamp. Pr. Tr. 124, 4; 129, 8; Cant. T. 3586, 3568 (rhyme); Tale of Mel., pg. 151; Serm. ag. Mir.-Plays 227, 10—; but the great change from Ags. to O. E. in favour of the use of mood-symbolics and of the infinit. clearly comes before us when we confront f. i. Matth. 2, 8; 2, 15; 4, 1; 4, 14; 5, 15; 5, 45; 21, 4; 18, 16 in Ags., where the subj. (pres. and pret.) stands, with the corresponding passages in Wycl. and Tynd. who present *shuld*, *maye* or the infinit. respectively. The simple subj. occurs in W. f. i. Matth. 2, 8; 5, 45; 18, 16, whereas Tynd. has *may* everywhere,—facts showing how the use of mood-symbolics made further progress from Wycl. to Tynd. at the expense of the simple subj.

§ 8. If in the final sentence the indic. is put where we should expect the subj. (§ 7 b), the subj. appears in return in sentences consecutive in our eyes, but final according to the conception of an Anglo-Saxon:—f. i. Metra 13,75 *svā hwearfað* (viz. the sun) *pāt hie eft cumc þær hio aeror vās*. (About the view lieing at the bottom of such subj* see § 6 d). As for the rest the indic. is in Ags. and O. E. the mood of the consecutive sentence, the subj. never expressing result. Jud. 24 *mihten* and 136 *mihten*, are exceptions, if so be that *mihten* really is a subj. form.

§ 9. With the subj. in the final clause we associate the subj. in the temporal sent. introduced by conjunctions meaning *until*, for it denotes the object kept in view while the main action is in doing. The actions appearing in their temporal relation may be at the same time related as cause and effect or as action and purpose. Hence the connection of the consecut. and final sentence with the temporal sentence. When the first two relations are taken up, the indic. ensues; the subj., when the relation of intentionality predominates. Connective words (conjunctions) may associate themselves with

such and such a relation. Hence a systematic use of mood after such and such a conj. Thus the conjunction *ôð* (*pät*) but seldom appears with the subj.

a) In the following list many indic* refer to actions intended, looked forward to:—

Indic. pret.:—Beov. 55, 64, 99, 144, 358, 545, 621, 1253, 1886, 2782, 2791; Gen. 111, 350, 589, 1467, 16052; Exod. 128, 204, 215 *Väccende bād eall seó sibgedriht somod ütgdere mārān māgenes, ôð Moyses bebeád eorlas on uhttīd ærnum bēnum folc somnigean, frecan ārisan* &c. Dan. 248 *Volde vulfheort cyning vall onsveallan īserne ymb aefāste, ôð pāt up gevāt lig ofer leofum and þurh lust geslōh miclē mære.* (Grein ought to have translated . . . *bis dass aufwärts stiege . . . und lustig aufschlüge* instead of *stieg—schlug*). 640, 668, 678, 736, 752; Jud. 238, 293; Gāthl. 118, 1265; Andr. 789 (*pät*), 837, 1246, 1249, 1271, 1306; Crist 1453; Rāts. 10, 10; 54, 4; Metra 1, 29; Boeth. 7, 1; Chron. 755 A and E, 1076 D; Gen. 14, 14; Aelfr. de Vet. Test. 8, 32, 40; de Nov. Test. 12, 14.

Indic. pres.:—Beov. 296, 1375; Dan. 575, 585; Phōn. 142, 151; Metra 29, 33; Ps. 71, 7; 106, 3; Boeth. 39, 12 &c.

b) Where the subj. crops up after *ôð pät* (*ôð*), it is generally¹ the effect of the imperat., the optat., or an expression of similar purport setting forth the character of intentionality (see § 7).

Here also the subj. may have at the same time a more formal reason, the concordance of moods (law of symmetry, see § 17 et seqq.).

Examples:—Dan. 517 *hēt þonne besnaedan seolfes blaedum, twīgum and telgum and þēh tācen vesan, vunian vyrtruman þās vudubeāmes eorðan fāstne, ôð pāt eft cyme grēne blēda.*

¹ The subj. stands f. i. Gen. 38, 17; Ps. 56, 1; 67, 22 where the idea of intention is preeminent and where the Latin presents the subj.; further Boeth. 22, 2, pg. 120 m.

Gen. 27, 43, 44, 45 (after imperat.); 38, 11 (after optat.)
Matth. 10, 11 *wuniað ðaer, oð ge útgan*. Ps. 112, 3 (dep.
on *sculan* and infinit.); 136, 7 (after optat.). In the Laws
the subj. abounds after optat^a, f. i. Hððh. 6; Ines 38.

All these inst^a are of the pres. With the subj. pret. we
came across it but in Matth. 18, 30 (donec redderet.).

c) *Ge bída n* mostly¹ appears with the subj.; always², if the
depend. clause is introduced by *hvonne*, even where, according
to our views, there exists no intentionality. Of Lot's wife, the
pillar of salt, we hear Gen. 2569 *nu sceal heard and steáp
on þám vícum vyrde bída n, drihtnes dōmes, hvonne dōgora
rīm voruld gevite*. Comp. further the subj. pres. in Beov. 2444
(þāt); Rāts. 16, 10 (hvonne); 32, 13 (hv.); Ps. 141, 9 (hv.);
Boeth. 39, 1 (hv.).

Subj. pret.:—Gen. 1424; Gúthl. 752; Crist 147. Simi-
larly after *langode* Gen. 1431 (*mōsten*); after *bāsnode* Exod. 474.
Comp. further Gen. 2701 *ic þās faeres ā on vēnum sāt, hvonne
me vrætra sum ellpeódigne aldrē beheōve*.—(As for the mood
after *aer*, *aer þon*, see §§ 27 and 28).

d) In O. E. the northern *tīl* (later *until*) gradually attained
great diffusion, supplanting the Ags. *oð þæt* and partly also
aer, *aer þon*; *forto*, *forte* &c. are frequently employed in the
same meaning. With these conjunct^a the subj. pret. is rare³
Comp. the indic. pret. in Sermon I. 48, 5 (Mätz. Prosa)
(forte); Cant. T. 2529; Hymn to the Virg., pg. 53 I, 11
(Mätz. Poesie) (tyl). Best. 43; Alisaund. 2488; Gower 343;
Cant. T. 10201, 10501 (compound perf. *tīl . . hath . .*) 10674,
11706, 14137, 3460, 4067, 4102, 4398, 6478. A subj. pret.

¹ Cases of indic.:—See above and Boeth. 38, 3.

² An exception is Exod. 251 *bidon ealle þā gen, hvonne siðboda
saestredmum neðh leóht ofer lindum lyft-edoras brāc* (Grein:—wann . .
würde); the departure indeed ensues but in 299 et seqq.

³ In cases like *defended that thei scholde not tell tīl that he were a
rysen* (Maundev. 217, 26) the subj. is that of the orat. obl.

occurs in W. Matth. 13, 33 *Quod acceptum mulier abscondit in farinae satis tribus, donec fermentum est totum* = *the whiche taken a womman hidde in three mesures of meele, til it were al sourdowid. Tynd. tyll all was levened. Ags. ... oð he waes eall ahafen.*

As to the present, moods are dealt with in a rather arbitrary way. As soon as we fancy having arrived at some principle, puzzling cases turn up, incompatible with what we thought to be a principle. How shall we f. i. account for the difference of moods in Cant. T. 5578 *That ilke fruit is ever lenger the wers Til it be roten in mullock or in stre* and 13595 *Wherefore I sing, and sing I mote certain In honour of that blisful maiden free, Til fro my tonge of taken is the grain?*

Forte seems to have a fondness for the subj. found unexpectedly as in:—*and waxed (viz. þe fur) from lesse to more vort al þet hus blasie uorð er me lest wene. A. R. 294. (MSS. T and C present aðat, oðet with subj.); comp. 34, 226, 334. Fragm. of Pop. Sc. 212 and gadereth ther a water cloude and hoveth ther a stounde, Forte tyme come that hit ryne and droppinge falle to grounde. So 221 (rhyme), 316, where natural phenomena are spoken of.*

Til with indic. pres.:—C. T. 3892, 4057, 5370, 5578, 8986, 9010, 10574, 10789, 13595; Pers. Tale 545 (after negat. princ. clause). With subj. pres.:—Cant. T. 3871, 10278, 10583, 11143, 15480; Tale of Mel. 139.

Here also imperat., optat., and equivalent idioms (see § 1) favour the subj., f. i. A. R. 16; Hamp. Pr. Treat. 137, 15; Sir Gaw. 449; Minot II, 133. (*... to time he think to fight*); Cant. T. 11070.

II. POTENTIAL USE OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN THE INDEPENDENT SENTENCE; THE SUBJ. OF THE DIRECT (INDEP.) QUESTION.

§ 10. Cases of the opt. in the independent sentence where the special characteristic of the wish, the idea to be realized, falls short of the mere idea of possibility of the subject matter, and where the opt. subj. 'passes over into a potential subj., are spoken of as occurring in Otfrid by Erdmann, loc. cit. § 34. From Ags., instances of the same may be produced, f. i. Beóv. 2766 *Sinc eáðe mäg gold on grunde gumcynnnes gehvone oferhigian, hgyde se þe vylle.* Metra 1, 10 *hliste se the ville.* Boeth 39, 7 *hnaeppen ða felga on þ. ðe hi hnaeppan = the fellies may rest on what they will.* Exod. *gehýre se þe ville.* Boeth, 37, 2 *Wýrce hwa þ. þ. he wýrce oððe do þ. þ. he do, a he haefð þ. þ. he earnap.*

Such independent sentences, together with the appendant relative clauses, are often related to other sentences as concessions. Hence in O. E. especially, the host of concessive formulae like:—*bitide what bitide* Beket 1812; *Hap what hap.*

§ 11. a) Most important is it to know that the subj. stands in the direct question with negative answer:—Boeth. 14, 1 *Hwaeþer hit nu ðines gewealdes sie þ. se haerfest sie swa selig on waestmum? Hu ne wat ic þ. hit is no þines gewealdes?* 32, 3 *Hwaeþer ge nu secan gold on treowenu? Ic wat ðeah þ. ge hit þaer ne secap.*

Such subj* are very numerous in the philosophic phraseology of Boeth. (Comp. further 23, 4; 26, 1 (*maege*); 26, 2; 27; 32, 1; 35, 5) and not rare in the Metra:—29, 5; 15 *þeah*

*ge nu vënen an vîlnigen, pät ge lange tîd libban môtên, hvät iów æfre þǵ bet bió oððe þince, deað æfter dōgorrîme, þonne he hæfð drihtnes leafe? Hvät þonne hæbbe hāleða ænig guma ät þām gilpe, gif hine gegripan môt se ēca deað æfter þissum vorulde? In Boeth. 33, 1, pg. 188 m. Hwaeþer ge nu seon maran on eovrum lichoman ðonne elpend oððe strengran ðonne leo oððe fearr . . ., and ðeah þu waere eallra monna faegrost on vlite . . . ðonne mihtest þu sweotole ongiton þ. ealle ða maegno and þa craeftas ðe we aer ymbe spraecon, ne sint to wipmetanne wip ðaere sawle craefta aenne. Cardale Englishes:— If then, ye were greater in your body than the elephant . . . ; and if thou wert of all men the fairest in beauty . . . ; then mightest thou clearly perceive that all the powers . . are not to be compared with &c. ; the sentence beginning with *hwaeþer* however is such a direct question with the subj. in view of a negat. answer and the passage has thus to be interpreted:—*Are ye greater in your body than an elephant . . . No!!—and if thou wert of all men the fairest, then still thou mightest clearly perceive that &c.**

In all the preceding instances we are in presence of subject matters merely imaginary, merely supposed a moment to exist for argument's sake, and the subj. is the subj. of unreality.

b) But the subj. is not confined to the direct question with negat. answer¹. At the end of Boeth. 13 Reason asks Wisdom, expecting affirmative answers:—*Hwaeþer nu gimma vlite eowre eagan to him getio heora to wundrianne? Swa ic wat þ. hie dōþ*;— further on:—*Hwaeþer ðe nu licigen faegeru lond, Do fair lands delight thee?*

Then again the subj. appears to express astonishment, wonder, about the subject matter:—*Metra 10, 21 Hvǵ ge ymb pät inmet*

¹ In cases like *Hwaet ete we, hwaet drince we, mid hwam beo we ofer-iorogene* (fut. in Vulg. and Vetus Ital.) the verbal form is not clear as to mood. In Maeso-Goth. the indic. interchanges here with the subj.:—*hwa matjam aiþþau hwa drigkam, aiþþau hve wasjaima?* Wycl. *What shulen we. Tynd. shall.*

ealnig svincen, þät ge þone hlisan habban tiliad oper þiöda mä, þonne éov þearf sie? 10, 18; 17, 15. 18; 27, 1 (*scylen*). 27, 4¹. The subj. stands also in the direct negat. question with affirmative sense (rethoric question), as *Metra* 19, 10 *Hvǫ genu ne settan on sume dūne fisc-net éovru, þonne éov fōn lysted leax oððe cyperan?* 28, 40 and 44 indic. and subj. stand side by side as elsewhere:—*Hvā is on veorulde, þät ne vundrige fulles mōnan, þonne he faeringa vyrð under volcnum vlites bereáfad, bepeaht mid þiōstrum? Hvā pegna ne maege eác vafian aelces stiorran, hvǫ hi ne scīnen scīrum vederum &c.* Both questions are of the same purport; the forms only are different.

c) In the pret. the subj. is rarer but not wanting. We found it in *Boeth.* 15, pg. 74 m. *Eala hwaet se forma gitsere waere, þe aerest þa eorþan ongan delfan aefter golde and aefter gimumm &c.* The same pass. occurs in *Metra* 8, 55.

In b) and c) the subj. is the subj. of uncertainty giving rise to inquiry.

d) How far in the dependent clause, really not only formally interrogative, the subj. is due to such absolute value of the subj. and how far to formal dependence from a governing sentence, might be a difficult question to answer. We placed it after the subj. as mood of the orat. obl.: Many of the verbs on which the indirect interrogat. clause may depend, are indeed at the same time verbs of Saying.

§ 12. We already know the subj. to denote supposition. Of the same character is that subj. which appears in the principal clause (i. e. the apodosis) of the conditional period. (Hypothetic subj.)

a) That the pret. is especially fit for the expression of a hypothesis, has been pointed out by Erdmann loc. cit. § 45

¹ Add *Boeth.* 40, 4, pg. 366; *Ps.* 93, 10.

et seqq. It is so usual in that function in Ags., though often hidden under obliterated forms, that we need not allege any inst^r. (Cp. f. i. Metra 20, 103 *gif þæt naere, þonne hió vaere forðrugod tó duste &c.*)

b) As for the pres., the hypothetic subj. (i. e. subj. in the princip. clause of a conditional period) occurs but once in the documents we have examined¹, in Metra 23, 1 *Sie þæt lá on eorðan aelces þinges gesaelig mon, gif gesiön maege þone hlútrestan heofontorhtan streám, ädelne aevelm aelces gôdes, and of him selfum þone sveartan mist môdes þióstro mäg äveorpan!* (*Auf Erden wäre das in allen Dingen ein glückseliger Mann, wenn er sehen könnte den hellsten etc. Strom; und von sich selber auch den schwarzen Nebel etc. entfernen könnte.* Grein.)

On the rare use of the subj. pres. in the protasis of a condit. period, see § 13.

¹ The hypothetic pres. subj. not unfrequently stands in Ags. in *hypothetic comparison*, f. i. Walf. 9 *Is þäs hiv gelic hreófum stáne, svylce vörce bi vðdes öfre sond beorgum ymbsceald sae-rýrica maest.* Boeth. 14, 1, pg. 62 m. *Hwi eart þu ðonne onaeled mid sva idele gefean öððe hwi lufast ðu þa fremdan göð sva ungemellice swelce hi sien þinagun?* (... as if they were &c.). Räts. 1, 1; Ps. 118, 70; Boeth. 7, 3. Old Engl. presents but the subj. pret. (f. i. Serm. Mätz. Prosa, pg. 48, 9; Best. 373, 338, 406.)

III. MOODS IN THE CONDITIONAL SENTENCE.

A. WITH INDICATIVE IN THE CONCLUSION.

§ 13. The simple statement of a condition without any indication as to whether the subject matter of the condition lie in the province of possibility or of impossibility,—chiefly takes place by the indic. pres. Hypothetical conditions to be uttered as such, find their clear expression by the subj. pret. Rarely the subj. pres. occurs in Ags. to express hypothesis¹. A sure inst. is Boeth. Cap. 14, § 1, pg. 64 t. The "Mind"² knows men only to desire wordly goods beyond measure; he therefore expresses a merely suppositive condition by saying:—*Gif þu þonne ðæt gemet habban wille and ða nýd þearfe witan wille, þonne is þæt mete and drync and clapas and tol to swelcum craefte swelce þu cunne þ. ðe is gecýnde and þ. ðe is wiht to habbene*. Cardale's translation is conscious of that suppositive character:—"But if thou wouldst have the measure and wouldst know &c. . . ., then it is meet and drink and clothes &c."—In Cap. 37, § 3, pg. 296 the transition from the indic. to the subj. means the transition from the simple statement of a condition (here having validity) to the supposition of a condition:—*Gif þara lima hwilc of bip, ðonne ne bip hit no full mon swa hit aer was. Gif eac hwylc*

¹ In the kindred Old Saxon, Hel. 3402, where Behaghel, loc. cit. § 35, pg. 44 m., thinks of correcting the reading *gifrummien* into *gefrummiad*, we are without doubt in presence of such a case of hypoth. pres. subj.

² In the dialogue between "*Mod*" and "*Gesceadwisness*" (*Mind* and *Reason*).

god man from gode gewite, ðonne ne biþ he þe ma fullice god.—

At the bottom of this subj. lingers the premise, that no good man can depart from good. Comp. Gen. 427 and further Boeth., cap. 34, § 8 (pg. 126 l.)¹. In the latter two passages Card. ought to have Englished the subj. as in the first one, by *would*.

Instances of the subj. pres. followed or preceded by such indic. pres. in the apodosis as have jussive or optative meaning (see § 1 f.) are of quite an other description, treated on hereafter:—Exod. 21, 4 *Gif he nābbe and his hlāford him vif sylle and hig suna hābbon and dōhtra, þāt vif and hire vinclo beōð þās hlāfordes . . . mulier et liberi ejus erunt domini sui = the wife and her children shall be her master's*; comp. Exod. 22, 2; Exod. 21, 8 *Ne mōt he hig fremdum folce syllan, gif he hig forhogie . . . vendendi non habebit*

Once in the philosophic phraseology of Boeth., a suppositive condition has found its way into the pres. indic.; but before the apodosis comes on, the construction is dropped and the hypothesis represented as such by the subj. pret., cap. 32, § 2, pg. 180 m:—*Gif hwa biþ swa scearpsene þ. he mæge hine ðurhseon swa swa Aristoteles se uðwita saede þæt deor waere þ. mihte aelc wuht þurhseon, ge treowa, ge furpum stanas, þæt deor we hatað lox;—gif ðonne waere swa scearpsiene &c.*

Once only a direct interrogative sentence is followed by a condit. clause with subj. pres., Boeth. Cap. 7, § 5, pg. 34 l.², an astonishing contrast to the indic. pres. after the independent interrogative subjunctive sentence in Metra 10, 68:—*Hvāt þonne hābbe hāleða aenig guma āt þām gilpe, gif hine gegripan mōt se ēca deað āfter þissum vorulde?* In conditional clauses

¹ Add further the example given § 12 b; the only inst. of the subj. pres. both in apod. and protasis. The indic. besides replaces there the subj. in the parallel condit. clause.

² *Hu wilt þu nu anwyrðan þaem woruld saelpum, gif hi cweðan to ðe &c.*

depending on direct interrogative sentences, the indic. is as naturally the rule as in those depending on not-interrog. apodos^s Comp. Cādm. Gen. 2480; Ps. 129, 3; Metra 22, 46; Aelfr. Gen. 18, 24; Matth. 18, 12.

§ 14. Old English, as far as that period of cultivation down to 1220 or 1230 is concerned, upholds Ags. tradition to put the indic. both in protasis and apodosis, when it may be assumed that both, condition and conclusion, are real because no suggestion is implied to the contrary. After the period of literary neglect (1220 or 1230—1280) the subj. strangely begins to encroach upon the indic., and even before Chaucer we find the indic. mostly superseded by the subj.

a) Before we try to follow up that slow swinging round from one mood to the other, it will be useful to prove by some inst^s out of a great many, that really the indic. was maintained up to that time of great changes in speech, 1220 or 1230—1280. Yet towards the end of the 13th century the indic. already shows a comparatively larger proportion of inst^s than the subj.

Inst^s of indicatives:—O. E. H. I. pgg. 15, 19, 21, 105; Orm 11523, 11525, 11826, 11842, 11936; Lagam. MSS Cott. Calig. and Cott. Otho 13957, 14082, 14152; Owl and Nightg. M. 823, 873, 875; Ancr. R. 32, 74 m., 104 t., 208, 236, 254 b., 304, 320, 360, 430; Liff. of St. Jul., pg. 9; Sarmun (M. Poesie, pgg. 115—120) 25, 53, 190; Dame Siriz (M) 52, 85, 374, 377; Fragm. of Pop. Sc. 111, 116, 213, 215, 313, 375, 383; Beket 1810, 2043; Sir Crist. 142; Rob. of Gloc. 37, &c.

For the first time the New to come peeps through in the Bestiary, written in the East Midland dialect about 1230. 146 and 150 *if he naked man se, ne wile he him nogt neggen and If he cloðed man se, cof he waxed*, and 155 . . . *if he it muge forðen* are clear examples of the subj. pres. beginning

to supplant the indic. pres¹. The subj. pres. after *What if* 156, 226 are not astonishing, for the conditions express suppositions. They are lingering rests of the hypothetic pres. subj. mentioned § 13.

b) When we have gone a step further towards the end of the century, we come for the first time across the cumbrous *if hit be so that*, used in place of the simple *if*:—Dame Siriz 228 *Of muchel godlec mist thou gelpe, If hit be so that thou me helpe*. *Helpe* itself can't serve as sure inst. of the New, being in the rhyme. In Fragm. of Pop. Science 154 *Iff ther beo eni thing bituene, me ne mai nogt i-hure hit so*, we must not ascribe the subj. *beo* to the use of the verb *beon*; for in 116, 213, 215, 313, the indic. *is* occurs under the same circumstances. The Proverbs of Hendying, MS Harl., assigned to the reign of Edw. II (1307—1327), by Halliwell (see Mätz. Altengl. Sprachprob. Poes., pg. 304 t.), to about 1260 by Kington Oliphant (The Old and the Middle English, pg. 338), sturdily cleave to the indic., f. i. 185, 200 (and even with the imperat. in the conclusion 95, 111, 119, 127). Once, in 203, the subj. crops up:—*Gef thou have thin ounne won, Thenne is thy treye overgone*. K. Horn, else staunch partisan of the Old, brings in the formal *if beo þi wille* 943. From Robert of Brunne (Robert Manning), a Lincolnshire man writing in the first years of the 14th cent., we allege the sporadic subj. of 66 (M. Poesie, pg. 299):—*If thou turne to þe rowe, þei salle drede þe chance*.

c) We cannot imagine a greater change in moods than that which we witness by going from the writers of the end of the 14th to the Northern Richard Rolle de Hampole (about 1340). Here the subj. has almost entirely overflowed the indic., a fact showing the great part of the North in the

¹ Inst. of the usual indic. with indic. are 173, 362, 650, 697. The subj. are due neither to rhyme nor to alliteration interchanging in that piece.

strange revolution of moods in question, accomplished towards the middle of the 14th century. It would not be out of place to associate the fondness for the subj. 2^d and 3^d pers. sing., where this mood is distinguishable, with Hampole's dropping the suffix *-t* in the 2^d pers. sg. of the præt.-præs. and the suffix *-st* in the 2^d pers. sg. pret. (Comp. f. i. *sall* = 2^d pers. sg. indic. in 122, 15. 16; 123, 4. Here again we must keep clear from the notion that the subj. rested with the use of the verb substant. *beon* (*to be*). Of the following examples 1. of subj. with indic. (in apodos.):—Prose Treat. 122, 2; 135, 2; 137, 14; 138, 3. 18. 21; 142, 11; 143, 8; 145, 24; 146, 4; 148, 35. 36; 149, 9. 32; *150, 25; 151, 8*; Prick of Consc. 481; 484; 596; and 2. of subj. with imper. (in apodosis), which certainly do not stand there on account of the imperat.¹:—Pr. Tr. 136, 9; 138, 15; *141, 9. 28*; 146, 16; *148, 33* only those in italics contain the verb subst. The formula *if nede be* occurs f. i. 145. The subj. stands even when the conditional period turns out to be such only by form, protasis and apodosis merely expressing two facts opposed to each other:—Prose Treat. 139, 14 *if þou þynke þat þis es noghte sothe me thynke noghte so as vnto þe*.

Such phrases are apt to bring home to us the fact, that the new idiom of the subj. does but formally differ from the indic. of previous times. Logic does not seem to have anything to do with it. The nature of the condit. rests the same. Further evidence might be gathered from confronting Ags. Scriptural sentences with their later shapes.

d) Dan Michel's Ayenbite 'of Inwyte, a translation from the French written about the same time as Hampole's works, but in the Kentish dialect, keeps rather to the old indic., so that M. contrasts strikingly with that contemporaneous Northern writer. Comp. 62, 11; 68, 4. 5; 77, 20; 78, 23. *Yef* however,

¹ The imperat. had long ago ceased to be the promoter of subj. in the protas., espec. in Northern writers.

it must be noticed, is comparatively rare in this document, *huanne* assuming condit. character, often takes its place. It is always combined with the indic.—If in Kent many of the old inflexions lingered on down to 1340¹, we are happy to add, that the same county held up the old syntax as to our case, while in the North the usage pointed out had long ago set in. Disorder in syntax seems to have been bred there as well as decay of inflexions and thence to have found its way to the South².

e) The inst^t of indic^t in R. R. de Hampole explain themselves by the tendency inherent to Ags. and Old E. (see §§ 19 and 20) to set off a condition from a subordinate, or opposed one, f. i. 139, 5 *Than if pou be besy with all pi myghte for to arraye his heuede . . . and forgetis his fete* (8) *and latis pame spill for defaute of kepyng* (9) . . *thou pleses Hym noghte* 149, 19 and 20. At the same page (4) *Also if it passe noghte away, bot duellis still in thi mynde by any trauell of biselfe* subj. and indic. mark out a strong contrast. At pg. 149, 19 and 20 *be* (2^d pers. sg.) interchanges with *erte* (2^d pers. sg.), a new argument to prove that the verb *be* is not the cause of the subj. (See c).—In all these passages the subj., the rule with Hampole, stands first; the indic. follows but for contrast's sake. If the reading *hase* (= *has*) be right, 136, 4 is an exception from that rule. 145, 20 appears *ere* (*are*), familiar with the North, after *if it be so that*. Whether it really was felt as indic. or not, might be questioned:—Moods long ago had ceased to be distinguishable in the plural.

f) John Trevisa's translation of Higden's Polychronicon agrees with Don Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt in firm adherence to the indic. John Trev. too is a Southern writer, but from

¹ V. K. Oliphant, *The Old and Middle English*, pg. 527 m.

² The same book tells us pg. 553, that Northern poems were often done into Southern English, but that the process was hardly ever reversed.

the opposite corner of South England, from Cornwall. He still was alive in 1398, a fact important to know in order to make sure that the South was clinging fast to the indic., when elsewhere the subj. had taken root. Comp. Trev. 350, 5; 372, 12. 13. An inscription on a stone pillar which he transmits (364, 5), runs thus:—*Ʒif þe stone is oon, telle what craft brought hym vppon . . &c.* The younger translation turns it into prose, using the subj.:—*If that ston be oon, say in what wyse and by what arte hit was elevate*, with Higden *Si lapis est unus, dic qua fuit arte levatus &c.* (Mätz. loc. cit. apud 364, 5.)

g) In order to illustrate the sweeping change of mood in the protasis of the conditional period¹ from Ags. and Half-Saxon to O. E., we cannot do better than confront the Ags. translation and Orm's paraphrase of *Hæc omnia tibi dabo, si cadens adoraveris me* on one side, with Maundeville's version on the other:—Ags. Gosp. Matth. 4, 9 *Eall ðas ic sylle ðe gyf ðu feallende to me ge-eadmetst*; Orm 11384 and 11385 *All þiss icc gife þe, Ʒiff þu to me wiltt cnellenn, Ʒif þu wiltt lefenn upponn me.*; Maundev. Trav. 211, 3 *Alle this schalle I geve the, gif thou falle and worschipe me.*

Wycl. and Tynd. present *shalt* and *wilt*; but, while these forms mean indic^o with Orm, they are no longer expressive of mood with W. and T.

From comparing the Ags. Gosp. with W. and T., as far as the latter do not come in with modal words in place of the Ags. simple verb, we learn that both have adopted the New to the same extent as writers of the 2^d part of the 14th century. (See hereafter.) Wycl. however, scrupulously following the

¹ The pret. subj. was maintained in O. E. In modern colloquial E. the indic. pret. has got a footing. (*If he was* and the like.) In Elis. Elstob's English Saxon Grammar (see Introd.) we found:—"I thought it would turn to little purpose to write an English Saxon Grammar, if there was nothing of worth in that language &c."

Vulgate, now and then brings in an indic. as reflex of the Latin indic. Comp. Matth. 26, 39; 27, 40. John 7, 4 &c.

For verification we add the following references:—

1. Where Ags. presents the indic. and W. the subj. (If Tyndale too happens to give discernible subj., we shall mark the references with T.):—Matth. 6, 22 T. 16, 26 T. (*Quid enim prodest homini si mundum universum lucretur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiatur*; W.:—*What profitith it to man gif he wynne al the world, trewly he suffre peyrynge of his soule*; T.:—*What shall hit proffet a man, yf he shulde wyn all the whoole worlde, so he loose hys owne soule*; Ags.:—*Hwaet fremap aenegum menn, ðeah he ealne middan-eard gestrýne, gyf he hys sawle forwyrd polap*. 18, 13 T. Mark. 9, 42. 43. 45.

2. Where Ags. presents the indic. and Tynd. the subj.:—Matth. 6, 30; 18, 15. 16. 17; John 8, 51. 52; 11, 9; 15, 6. In many places W. uses modal words, especially *shall*, where T. brings in the simple verb. Comp.:—Matth. 18, 15. 16. 17. John 8, 51. 52; 11, 9. 12; 15, 6.

h) The “first writer in formed English”, Maundeville, and “the father of Modern English”, Chaucer, both have shoals of subj. alongside of a single indicat. The indic. in passages like *if a man be good, or doth or sayth a thing to good entente, the backbiter wol turne all that goodnesse* &c. (Pers. Tale, pg. 539 m.) must not be imputed to the use of a verb other than *to be*, but to the tendency of distinguishing one condition from the other, even if coordinate. We must not allow us to be misled by the natural frequency of the verb. subst. Such interchange takes place with other verbs as well; comp. f. i. Pers. T., pg. 544 m. As to *wilt* and *shalt*, we already observed that mood is undistinguishable. *May* often drops its suffix-*st* (2^d pers. sg. pres.) in the indicat. *Can* and *canst* too seem to be used for each other; therefore in the following list of subj. we do not take the præter-præs. into account at all. Nor

are their any rhymes except those indicated. Where the verb. subst. stands, the reference will be in italics:—Maundev. Trav. 175, 7. 10. 12. 14. 16. 18. 19. 20; 181, 8; Chauc. C. T. 1152, 505, 2557, 3504, 3507, 4179, 4471, 4522, 4536, 4540, (5667 rhyme); 5832; 5835, 5847, 5933, 6156, 6860, 6593, 6983, 7115 (8163 rhyme); 9083, 9085, 9216, 9532 (so as conjunction); 9817, 10715, 10991 (11895 *Tell me if thou can.* rhyme); 12123, 13196, 12588, 13345, 14100, 15434, 16496, 15945, 16868, 16913, 17014 (17296 rhyme); Pers. Tale, pgg. 521, 530 and generally on every page.

In the Rom. of the Rose the subj. is maintained although the French original, in its steady use of the indic. after *si*, could have been a strong inducement to cling to the indicat. Comp. f. i. R. R. 2711:—*And if such cause thou have that thee Bihoveth to gone out of contree . . . = Et se tu as si grant besoigne Que esloigner il te conviegne.* Rom. de la Rose¹. Comp. further 1339, 1539 (2125 rhyme); 2156, 2274:—*And if thou have nought, spende the lesse = Et se tu n'as si grant richece, si t'estrece!* Rom. de la Rose, ed. Michel, pg. 72. Among the small proportion of indic.^a we observe especially proverbial phrases, saws dating from times when the indic. had not yet been so strangely supplanted by the subj. Notice f. i. C. T. 8293: *If on saith wel, another saith the same*; 9259 *If thou lovest thyself, love thou thy wif.* Similarly in the *Seuyn Sages*, attributed to the reign of Rich. II (1377—1399)² and therefore contemporaneous with Chaucer's writings, an inscription on a cross-bow warns us:—*Yif me smiteth ani man I schete him anon agan*, (1981), while in the same piece the subj. is largely indulged in, when mood is not held up by tradition. Comp. 2189, 2310, 2312. To support the fact of the general use of the subj. in the Chaucerian age, we add the following references:—Gower. Conf. Amant. 290; (368 rhyme); 575. Metr.

¹ Ed. Francisque Michel, pg. 84.

² See Mätzner. Poesie, pg. 253 t.

Hom. (about 1350; North) M. Poesie, 111, 115, 125, 151. Serm. against Miracle-plays, end of the 14th cent., M. pgg. 234, 4; 235, 19; 236, 5; (indic. 234, 6). Sir Gawayne (reign of Rich. II), 273, 277, 291; (indic. 285, 373.)

i) In all the writings of the 14th cent., especially of the later part of it, *will* and *shall* so much abound, that cases with discernible mood are relatively rare. Simple verb and modal word alternate in the dependent sentence just as we saw optative and jussive alongside of idioms with *let*, *may* and *shall* (see § 2). Comp. *And if this, frend, wil not to suffisen thee* and *And gif this suffisith not to thee*, in the above named Serm. against Miracle-plays, pgg. 237, 19 and 234, 26 respectively.

k) The Ordinances of English Gilds contrast in their legal phraseology with kindred documents of Ags. in as much as the subj. is much more common in the former than in the latter one's (see f. i. pgg. 3, 5, 59, 138), although the same inconsistencies are straggling on, as pg. 3 *gif any brother oper sister dye*, while *if any brother dies and is buried* occurs pg. 137.

§ 16. Cases of the subj. pres. in the condit. clause with inverted order of words and without the particle *gif* are rare, except in the negat. condit. clause, where the formula *ni beo* comes under concern. We found *vor beo heo erest ablind, heo is eð fallen; ablinde þe heorte, heo is eð ouercumen*, A. R., pg. 62 (ed. Morton), (*ablinde* is intransitive); comp. 164, 172 b Sarmun, Mätz. Poesie, pg. 171:—*For be þe soule enis oute, A uilir caraing nis þer non*. Prov. of Hendying 256 *for be he come to the depe, He may wrynge hond and wepe*; E. Gilds, pg. 41.

Whether we are in the second pers. sg. and plur. in presence of the subj. or the imperat. (conditional imperative), is not discernible from the form of the verb. (f. i. Cant. T. 5918 *Have thou ynough thee þar non plainen thee*; Best. 258.)

B. WITH OPTATIVE AND IMPERATIVE IN THE CONCLUSION.

§ 17. As scarce as the subj. pres. is in the condit. period with indicational¹ apodosis, as frequently does it occur with optative and jussive subj. and imperat. in the apodosis. In such contingency, the subj. owes its existence rather to the correlation of condition to consequence wanting to be reflected by concordance of moods, than to its absolute value. As for the imperat., its influencing the verb of the condition in the same way as opt. and jussive, the elucidation is surely to be taken from its kindred to them (see § 1). Indicatives with optat. or jussive purport (see § 1) work upon mood in the same way as optatives themselves.

By the following typic examples such use of moods is sketched out:—

Beov. 446 *Ac he me habban vile dreórê fâhne, gif mec deað nimeð.* Ibid. 452 *Onsend Higelâce, gif mec hild nime.*

Ags. Gosp. Matth. 26, 39 *Gyf hyt beon mæge, gewite ðes calic fram me.* (Vulg. *Si potest . . .*)

Now we subjoin the references to similar passages:—

1. **Ind. pres. and indic. pres.** Beov. 447, 661; Crist 1310; Cædm. Gen. 569, 570, 578, 430, 2480, 2659; Andr. 212; Gúthl. 5; Jul. 251, 330, 338; Exod. (Cædm.) 522, 560; Psalm 65, 14; 58, 15; 103, 27; Hymn. and Geb. II, 13; Råts. 1, 7; 13, 3; 16, 7; 16, 14; 37, 12; 39, 6. 7; Metra 4, 49; 5, 24; 22, 12; 24, 55; Lev. 4, 23; Aelfr., Vorrede z. Genes., pgg. 22, 24; Genes. 4, 7; 13, 9; 38, 17; 43, 5; Exod. 21, 7. 21; 18, 23; 19, 5; Matth. 15, 14; John 8, 24; Boeth. 16, 1. 25; 26, 3; 36, 7 &c. &c.

2. **Subj. (opt. or jussive) and subj. pres.** a) *Cond. clause preceding*:—Ps. 94, 8; Exod. 12, 4; 21, 3. 30. 33; 22, 9. 12;

¹ We venture this word by analogy of *adjectival* &c.

Lev. 3, 6. 7 &c. (see the whole chapitre); Matth. 26, 39; Aðelb. dômas 4, 5, 11. &c. &c. *b) Cond. clause following (resp. intercalated):*—Boeth. 33, 1 *Uton nu, gif þe swa þince, geecan þone aniveald . . . &c.*

3. Subj. and imperative. *a) Cond. clause preceding:*—Elene 441, 621, 773 (the imper. does not come till 784); Rāts. 40, 28; Andr. 417; Ps. 57, 1; 101, 2; Metra 29, 1; Gen. 18, 3; 19, 12; 32, 17; 47, 6; Exod. 12, 10; 23, 4. 5; 29, 34; Matth. 4, 3; 5, 39; Lev. 25, 25; Deut. 1, 17; 13, 6 and 8; 14, 24; 20, 10; Boeth. 6; 7, 2; 14, 1. *b) Cond. clause following:*—Beov. 1379, 1481; Gen. 2654; Elene 542; Jul. 87; Gāthl. 262; Gen. 15, 5 *Telle þās steorran, gif þu mage, Numera stellas si potes*¹.

§ 18. *a)* While the three examples at the head of the preceding § are typic for the use of moods in Ags. poetry, prose manifoldly departs from them. The legal phraseology of the Laws and of many parts of the Bible (f. i. Exod. 20—31; Levit.), swarms with inconsistencies. It is true, the principles established clearly shine forth f. i. in Exod. 20, 25 *Gif þu staenen veofod me vyrce, ne tymbra þu þāt of gesnidenum stānum! gif þu þin tōl āhefst ofer hyt, hit bið besmiten*, and the Latin verbs *feceris—levaveris* answering to condit. subj^a and indic^a respectively, cannot have influenced Ags.;—but Exod. 1, 16 *Gif hit hysecild byð, ofsleað þāt, gif hit si maeden-cild, healdað þāt! si masculus fuerit, interficite eum, si femina, reservate!* show how moods could be indiscriminately used.

b) Thus the *indic. pres.* is found *before the imperative:*—Aelfr. de Vet. Test. 14, 30; Exod. 32, 32; 33, 15; 21, 14; Deut. 20, 12; Jos. 4, 6; Aelfr. Gramm., pg. 264, 19; Matth.

¹ As for inst^a of subj^a before the pres. indic. (beoð, bið) or ags. future with jussive meaning see § 13. Before or after *sculan* and *infinīt.* (§ 1 g.) with jussive meaning the indic. is preferred; see Lev. 20, 9; Metra 18, 9; Exod. 21, 10; Chron. 605 E.

8, 31; 18, 8. 9. 15. 16; 14, 6; Marc. 9, 42. 43. 45. *After an imperat.* (a position rare upon the whole):—Genes. 47, 16. *Indic. pres. before optat. and jussive*:—Exod. 21, 2. 8. 9. 11. 23. 26. 32. 35; 22, 1. 8. 10. 13. 16. 22; Lev. 4, 3. 5. 27; Deut. 20, 11; Chron., pg. 33 (twice), A° 658 E.; pg. 39, A° 675.

Some of these subj. may have been occasioned by the Latin, as those in italics; but in general the Latin mood little affects Anglo-Saxon.

c) The *Laws* again offer a vast field for observation. In the 90 sentences of *Æðelbirhtes dômas*, inflicting penalties and compensation for various crimes, where the optative (jussive) stands more than 90 times, the subj. but faintly appears (13 times). We can't help noticing a certain predilection for the subj. of *beón* (*vesan*). How shall we face an interchange like:—*Gif in cyninges tune man mannan ofsleah, L scill. gebete* (5) and *Gif cyninges ambihtsmið oððeladrinc mannan ofslehð, meduman leodgelde forgelde*, but by saying that a usage founded upon such an external law as that of symmetry, was liable to inconsistencies. Now and then a mere accident may have prompted such and such mood: *Wihtraedes dômas* keep, broadly speaking, to the subj. before the optat. (jussive). Now in 13 we hear:—*Gif man Gedes þeówne ðsne in heora gemange tihc, his dryten hine his áne áðe geclaensie, gif he húsl-genga sîe; gif he húsl-genga nis, hæbbe him in áðe ôðirne aewdan gôðne*. Has not the easiness of the contraction *nis* brought up the indic., whilst *ne sîe* would have been less handy?—That Ags. poetry never hurts that law of symmetry, proves to its glory. If it boasts of a wordstore of its own, it boldly holds up a tuneful harmony of moods.

§ 19. a) It would be of no use quoting further inexplicable interchanges of subj* with indic*. They occur on every page in the monuments in question. Far more consolatory is it for us to watch how the selfsame documents avail themselves of

moods to set off a condition from a subordinate one:—
Exod. 21, 28 *Gif oxa hnite ver oððe víf and hig deáde beóð, sî he mid stánun ofterfod. Sî bos cornu percusserit virum aut mulierem et mortui fuerint, lapidibus obruetur.* Anglo-Saxon thus likes to mark the different order of the conditions; Latin does not reflect it by the moods. It seems not to matter, whether the subj. be nearest to the optat. or imperative, or not, provided that the indic. alternate with the subj. Generally the conj. *gif* is replaced in the second cond. clause by *and*: Exod. 21, 26; Deut. 13, 1 and 2; Aedelb. dôm. 3; Hlôdh. 15. In Exod. 22, 7 *Gif hvá befást his feoh tô hyrdnesse and hit man forstýlð þam, þe hit underfélhð, gif man þone þeóf finde, gúlde þe twífealdon,* the two first conditions together are distinguished from the heterogeneous third one. Similarly two conditional periods bearing the same relation to each other as simple conditional clauses of different degrees, may be characterized by different moods. Comp. Deut. 19, 16—19; Aedelb. dômas 36 and 37.

Not unfrequently the conjunctions themselves vary, *þeah* very near akin to *gif* being followed by the subj. and *gif* by the indic. The different order then is greatly emphasized:—Metra 22, 43; Matth. 16, 26; Aedelb. dôm. 77.

b) Merely coordinate conditions are expressed by the same moods. Thus the indic. before indic. in the apod. is not departed from:—Jul. 121, 122; Ps. 88, 28; Boeth. Cap. 3, § 2; Exod. 21, 23; Ines 40 &c. Ind. before optat. not departed from: Lev. 4, 3; Deut. 20, 11. Ind. before imper. not departed from: Deut. 20, 12. Subj. before imperat. or opt. not departed from: Gen. 32, 27. We hardly need remark that condit. clauses connected by *oððe* (*or*) are of coordinate order and agree as to mood. See f. i. Ines 39.

The concordance of moods just alluded to, it must be understood, does not necessarily imply concordance of the order of

conditions (Comp. f. i. Exod. 21, 4, 33). If however a subordinate condition has to be shown off as such, moods are sure to alternate.

§ 20. In Old English interchange of moods often marks subordination of conditions. Even where the subj. pres. depending on the indic. pres. has become the rule (see § 14), the indic. often crops up for contrast's sake. Comp. Chaucer, Pers. T. 516 *If thou hast disdeigne of thy servant, if he offend or sinne, have thou than disdeigne . . .* The subj. *offend* does not so much arise from the following imperat.,—the influence of opt. and imperat. having long ago passed away, as we shall presently point out,—as from the conditions being opposed to each other. Comp. C. T. 10451 *If any lady bright Hath set hire herte on any maner wight, If he be false, she shal his treson see.*

Such diversification may often have been prompted as well by a fondness for the subj. forms of the verb. subst.; that however it existed by itself, evinces from cases where the verbs are other than *to be*, or both *to be*; comp. the above quoted Pers. Tale, pg. 516 and Maundev. Trav. M., pg. 181, 12 *And gif he be chosen to ben prelate and is not worthi, is lampe quenchede anon*¹. What we had to remark about this matter in Ags. (see § 19) equally applies to O. E. Further inst* of interchange: O. E. H., I. Ser., pg. 7; A. R. 190; Owl and Nightg. 793; Prov. of Hand. 55; Fragm. of Pop. Sc., M. Poes. 223; Metr. Hom. M. I, 125 (1st half of the 14th c.); Ayenb. of Inw. 66, 15 (*muge* is subj.; *may* distinctly but indic., as evident from 71, 22; 77, 26; 78, 24 &c.); 117, 18; Sir Gaw. (M. Poes.) 286.

On the other hand confusion of moods (see § 14) has set in so mightily, that, towards the end of our period especially, different moods are not unusual to contain coordinate conditions.

¹ Though the present § stands under the head of:—With opt. and imp. in the apodosis, we here give inst* with indic. aped. as well, in order to avoid dismembering of the subject.

§ 21. a) Let us now put the question, whether the formal subj. depending on opt. or imperat. outlived Ags., or not. To answer neatly, it has not. We must not wonder at it: We still bear in mind how Ags. prose swerved from the law of symmetry (see § 18). If Orrmin wrote *Giff patt tu Goddness Sune arrt wiss, Macc braed off pise stanness* (11339 and 11605), it is not astounding; for we know the Ags. Gosp. to have handed over to him the indic. (Matth. 4, 6). See further Orrm. 11355; 11359. As to 11901 *Do þe þurrrh þe sellfenn dun Annd þurrrh þin Goddcunndnesse, Giff patt tu Godess Sune arrt wiss*, we remember that Ags. cleaves to the subj. in a like passage Matth. 27, 40:—*Gyf ðu sȝ Godes sunu, gā nȝðer of ðaere rôde*. These two phrases might well hold good as a conspicuous measure for the distance between Ags. and O. E.

Further references for verification:—

1. Indic. and imperat. O. E. H. I. 3 *gif eniman seið eawiht to eou, segged þet þe lauerd haued þar-of neode*. A. R., pgg. 90 b., 56, 70 t., 186, 380 *Beoð bliðe on heorte gif ge polieð daunger of Sluri*. Prov. of Hendying (about 1260) 95, 111, 119, 127. Lives of Saints (M. Poes.), Beket 1863; St. Margar. 274—284, several times.

2. Indic. and optat. A. R. 68 b, 80 b, 84, 142, 178; Beket 2119, 2025 *The clerkes that thu bringest with the, if hi wolleth her astonde, Swerie the King true to beo*.

b) We possess some traces of concordance of moods in O. E. About 1220 we still read:—*Gif eni þauh so do and heo breke bitterliche his untowe word, oðer his fol den: to-drede ham isigge* (*Let her trample among them, I say*. Morton). Ancr. Riwe, pg. 170. Sermon (beginning of the 13th c.), M. Pr., pg. 51, 8. In Dame Siriz (about 1280) (M. Poes.) 443 the subj. stands in the rhyme. K. Horn 143 *Gef þu cume to Suddene, Gret þu wel of myne kenne* is a good example. Yet we must consider that, with it, we approach the time when the neglect of symmetry will be sided by the

general tendency of using the subj. systematically before and after the indicatival apodosis (see § 14). Thus from about 1340 it will be questionable to which cause a subj. depending on an opt. or imperat. is due. Our investigation with reference to concordance of moods therefore could but arrive at the negative result, that the indic. turns often up with the imperat. or optat. Comp. Metr. Hom. (about 1350) I, 151 (M.). P. Ploughm.'s Vis. (M.) 345.

At any rate ind. and subj. could be indiscriminately put with the opt., as in The Seun Sages 2189 and 2331 (M. Poes.), probably end of the 13th cent. (see Mätz. ¹):—*Ac yif thou do thi sone duresse, On the falle swich a destresse, And swich a maner vileynie, As hadde the burgeis for his pie, and Ac yif thou dost more bi hire lesing, Falle on the ase dede Herowde the king.*

c) Lingering rests of symmetry have perhaps come down to Shakespeare. As such we should like to take:—*If thou love me, practise an answer*, 1 Hen. IV, ii.; *If thou have power to raise him, bring him hither*, *ibid.* iii., opposed to:—*If thou dost nod thou break'st thy instrument*, J. C. IV, all quoted by Abbot (Shakesp. Gram., pg. 263) who sees in the ind. after *if* a different meaning as compared with the subjunctives, and not a formal agreement with the mood of the apodosis.

APPENDIX.

§ 22. What we said of the subj. in the condit. clause with optative or imperat. and equivalents in the apodosis, equally holds good of the subj. in the relative, locative, and temporal² sentence dependent on the optat. and imperative principal sentence: While in prose the law of symmetry is often not kept, poetry clings fast to it (Gen. 2722 . . . *and þe vic geceos on þissum landum þær þe leofost sie*; but Aelfr. Gen. 20, 15 *Vuna þær þe leofost ys*); then again in Old English it becomes obsolete.

¹ Viz. Introduction to the piece in his *Alt-Engl. Sprachproben* (Poesie).

² As for other subord. sent^s with subj^s of the same character see § 37 b, e.

IV. THE SUBJUNCTIVE AS MOOD OF THE CONCESSIVE SENTENCE INTRODUCED BY "þEÁH".

§ 23. Modern grammarians and compilers of grammars restrict the use of the subj. after the chief conjunction *though*, (*although*) to those cases where the statement is "uncertain, doubtful, only possible". Mätzner, Gram. II, pg. 134, 2^d ed., establishes the rule that the subj. is admitted, unless in the concession the fact of the existence of what is conceded, be kept decidedly in view, "which moreover may be established by itself". His examples however are but of the pres. subj. The first among the grammarians (we went through, see Introd. I) to draw a distinctive line between subj. and indic. in the concessive sent. introduced by *though* &c., was James Elphinston. His *Principles of the English Language* (Lond. 1765), reserving the subj. to the "concessional supposition", teach to make use of the indic. in the case of a "concessional affirmation", whereby he means *fact*. Such distinction—imagined by doctrine—is not to be justified from Ags. and even not from O. E., broadly speaking: for in Ags. the subj. is exclusively the mood of the concessional sentence intimately connected with its principal clause and introduced by *þeáh* originally belonging as adv. to the principal clause, (see Erdmann, Syntax Otfried's, § 78.) *notwithstanding its referring to distinctly acknowledged facts*, whether expressed by the present or pret. stem of the verb. In O. E. we shall see that subj. vanishing a way or beginning to vanish away, just where its existence in Ags. and Early E. is most striking, in the preterit, before the overwhelming and

crushing uniformity of verbal forms. So great has been the havoc done among inflexions, that now the only Shibboleth of the subj. pret. is *were*, pret. subj. of *wesan*. No wonder though Abbot's Shakesperian Grammar mentions *were* after *though*,—such surviving use of the subj., precious heirloom of olden times—as jarring with grammar and logic:—“... were, ... it is often used as the subj. where any other verb would not be so used and indeed where the subj. is unnecessary or wrong . . .”¹ Now let us return to Ags. where the subj. (pret. and pres.) is the rule after *þeáh*. As to kindred tongues, the same has been proved, as regards Old Saxon by O. Behaghel, *Die Modi im Heliand*, § 38; as to Old High German (Otfrid), by Erdmann, *Syntax Otfrid's*, § 157 and § 65.

We transcribe but one example of the subj. pret. and confine ourselves to give the reference to other typical instances. In Dan. 223 we hear of the three men in the fiery stove:—*Ne hie tō fācne freoðo vilnedan, þeáh þe him se bitere deað geboden vaere*. Now in 212 et seqq. they have been threatened with death and Grein is right to translate:—... *obgleich ihnen der bittere Tod geboten wurde*. Care has been taken to select only those passages where mood could not have been influenced upon by any accident:—

1. Subj. pret. Beóv. 203, 526, 2838; Dan. 698; Sat. 518; Crist 369, 1184; Phön. 639; Rätsel 88, 13; And. 53, 1611; Elene 707; Gúthl. 844, 887, 942, 458; Hymns 4, 65; Boeth. Cap. 29, § 2; 30, 2; Metra 20, 25; Ags. Chron. A° 1036 C, 1667 D.

2. Subj. perfect. compound. Beóv. 1928; Andr. 978; Exod. 32, 31; Beóv. 1928 may be copied down as inst. of this rare case:—*Bold vās betlic, brego rôf cyning heá healle, Hygd svíde geong, vís, vel-bungen, þeáh þe vintra lyt under burhlocan gebiden hābbe Haereðes dóhtor*.

¹ See *Shakesp. Gr.*, pgg. 210, 211

3. Subj. present. Beóv. 1941; Elene 513; Cādm. Gen. 621, 823; Andr. 956, 1219; Dan. 326; Hym. and Geb. 3, 11; Phōn. 563 *peáh mīn lic scyle on moldārne molsnad veorðon vyrnum tō villan, svā peáh veoruda god āfter svylthvīle sāvle á lȳseð*; Gúthl. 211, 270, 351, 437, 1038; Metra 14, 1; 13; 16, 19; 15, 1. 5; 20, 65. 128. 146; 35, 53; Rāts. 41, 27; Boeth. Cap. 5, § 2; Cap. 6; 11, § 1; 12; 18, § 1, 2, 3; 19; 33, § 3; 41, § 3. &c. &c.; Aelfr., Vorrede zur Genes. Grein, pg. 23, 33; St. John 11, 25; Mark. 6, 23.

Of No. 1 and 2 all the subj^s refer to facts; of No. 3 a great many.

When the inst^s of the subj. pret. are less numerous given, it is chiefly because distinguishable mood is less frequent than in the pres. With reference to the reciprocal position of the concessive sentence and its apodosis, the above quoted passages prove that the former may follow the latter as frequently as it precedes it. This collocation was the original one (see Erdmann, loc. cit. § 70). The adverb *peáh* and its strengthened form *svā peáh* very often keep their places in the apodosis as demonstrative correlatives to *peáh* the conjunction. Then the relation is the more intimate.

§ 24. a) When two clauses, one of which conveys a concession to the other, are simply juxtaposed, not connected and joined by *peáh*, then the subj. never appears in our documents:—Cādm. Gen. 824 *þu meaht hit me vitan, vine mīn Adam vordum þinum: hit þe peáh vyrs ne mäg on þinum hyge hreóvan*. Comp. Andr. 814; Boeth. Cap. 33, § 4. Although the adversative character of the clauses of the period is put forth by the adverb *peáh*, it is not the first to attract attention; the idea of fact is prominent; therefore the indicative stands. In the year 755 we read in the Chron. (pg. 50):—*and he his feorh generede and peáh he waes oft gewundad*, MS. A, whereas MS. E gives but ... *and he waes oft gewundod*. This might serve to verify that assertion.

b) Nor does the subj. find a place when the concessive sentence is introduced by *svá* (like *peáh* originally a member of the apodosis), though *peáh* appear as correlative in the apodosis. The reason thereof will be found to be the same as before. The vividly demonstrative force of *svá* presents the fact as fact and not in its adversative relation, although *svá* may be suggestive of the idea of opposition just as *sō* is found in Middle High German with the meaning of *dagegen*, *aber* (Tobler, *Conjunctionen mit mehrfacher Bedeutung in Paul und Braune's Beiträgen*); that idea however does not come out in the first place. Comp. Cädm. Gen. 391:—*Svā he us ne mäg aenige synne gestaelan, pāt ve him on þam lande lād gefremedon, he hūfð us peáh pās leóhtes bescyrede*. Rāts. 7, 4; 23, 10. Here the concess. clause comes last.

c) A striking example to give insight into what an Anglo-Saxon felt using the subj. in a concess. clause with an acknowledged fact, turns up Boeth. cap. 33, 2, pg. 190 t., where after the statement that five things *anweald*, *genyht*, *maernes*, *weorpscipe*, and *blis*, are all but one thing i. e. *God*, the passage runs on thus:—*ðeah nu God anfeald seo and untodaeled swa swa he is, se mennisca gedwola hine todaelp*. The speaker evidently is conscious of the subj. taking away from the validity of the fact verified just before, and, in order to recall its being a fact, he parenthetically inserts *swa swa he is*, availing himself just of the strongly demonstrative character of *swa* (*svá*) to set off the truth. We gather herefrom that the idea of fact is dropped for a moment for argument's sake, *in order to concentrate discussion on the fact taking place notwithstanding that other fact*: The concession is deprived for a moment of its reality and looked upon as merely possible. Reality becomes potentiality. Of two facts, that one which cannot hinder the other from taking place is expressed by the subj. Thus their relative value is beautifully reflected by diversity of moods. What now-a-days is done

by an inflexion of the voice, was once worked out by language itself.

d) From such explanation we easily guess that, when the subject-matter of the concessive clause is taken up expressly in its objective truth, the indic. appears. Such may have been the case in Exod. 11, 9:—*Ne hȳrð Farao inc, þeáh þe fela tǣcnu sind geworden on Egipta lande. Non audiet vos Pharao, ut multa signa fiant in terra Aegypti.* Comp. Red. d. Seel., Cod. Verc. 137; Rāts. 89, 10. If we confront Beóv. 202:—*þone sīðfāt him snotere ceorlas lyhtvôn lōgon, þeáh he him leóf vaere,* and Beóv. 2467:—*nô þȳ aer he þone heaðorinc hatian ne meahte lādum daedum, þeáh him leóf ne vās,* we see that the indic. evidently occurs in the second passage because, between *not hating* and *not loving* (2467), there exists not that adversative relation as between *blaming* and *loving* (202), and, since there is no striking difference in the relative value of the two facts, moods are allowed to be the same. A similar observation will hold good with reference to the indic. pret. in Beóv. 1613. In Metra 29, 55 the adverbial determination *hvilan aer, quondam* does not suffer the fact to be conceived otherwise than in its real objectivity.

These six instances are the only ones we come across in Ags. In Gen. 736 *þeáh* is certainly adverb and not conjunction. Of Grein's instances¹ of "indicatives" all except Beóv. 2467 just quoted by us, are pret. plurals in *-on*, and may be subjunctives as well as indicatives (see the introd.). Elene 1118 is a wrong reference. Nor is *And git he hylt his unscedignisse þeáh þe þu ástȳredest me togeánes him, þāt* &c. (Job, apud Ettm. 5, 12^a) anything else but a passage with an undistinguishable mood, none the less than Boeth. cap. 22, § 1.

In presence of those six examples of indic^a in Ags., Behaghel (Die Modi im Heliand, Paderborn 1876, § 38) would perhaps

¹ Glossar, artic. *þeáh*.

² Quoted by Mätzner, E. Gr. II, pg. 135, 2^d ed.

concede to the indic. a place in the kindred Old Saxon, in Heliand 888 C, where he calls the indic. wrong ("falsch").

Before we take leave of Ags., we have to add that a concession introduced by *peáh* = *etsi*, is naturally expressed by the same mood as stands after *peáh* = *quamquam*:—Beöv. 1941; Matth. 26, 33; John 11, 25; Mark. 6, 23; Boeth. cap. 22, § 1, &c.

§ 25. a) Of all characteristic subjunctives of olden times, this is the most abiding, for it was not confined to any special form of the concessive sentence by itself very frequent. As to the pret., the inst* appear less and less numerously in O. E. while the inflexions are crumbling down from their stems. With the deperdition of means to give the relative value of the two facts of the concessive period its significative expression, the delicate sense for that relative value itself dies out. Still it is strong and vivid in Chaucer and outlasts the period of our inquiry. As for *were* after *though* in Shakespeare see the observations of Abbot's Shakesp. Gram. alluded to before (§ 23).

In the pres. the instances are by interior and exterior reasons far more abundant.

b) Before producing references, some new conjunctions appearing in O. E. require to be mentioned:—*Al*, expressing firm adherence to an assertion in spite of contrariety (Tobler, loc. cit.); we first met it in the Ancr. Riwe, pg. 158, replacing *þauh* in a parallel concessive sentence. *Al be it* itself forms with *that* the conjunction *albeit that*, frequent in Chaucer's time. *That* besides is often not taken up. *Allegate* occurs already in the Ancr. Riwe, pg. 350. *Alneway* is used in Ayenb. of Inw., f. i. 76, 18. *Al if* f. i. in Hamp. Prose Treat. 146, 2.

c) Instances of the subj. in O. E.:—

1. Subj. pret. referring to distinct facts:—Ancr. Riwe, pg. 354; Fall and Pass., M. Poesie, pg. 125, 31 (al pat); Dunstan, M. Poesie, pg. 174, 20; Beket, M. Poesie, pg. 177

et seqq., 1789, 1804, 2158; King Horn 317, 1040; W. de Shoreham, M. Poesie, pg. 262, 130; Hamp., Prose Treat. 149, 11; Chaucer, C. T. 517, 4424, 5000 (*Al*), 8094, 8758, 9499, 10410, 10936, 11439 (*Al*), 11983, 14279 (*al*), 14381, 14439.

NOTE.—In hypothetic constructions of course, inst* of the subj. pret. after *though* are frequent and need not even be mentioned. Cp. Owl and Night. 783. There the subj. has nothing in common with that one which we are treating on.

2. Subj* pres., many of which referring to facts:—O. E. Hom. I, pg. 23 (twice). Ancr. Riwe, pgg. 194, 58, 68, 102, 108, 132, 238 (several times)¹ &c. Liff. of St. Juliana, pg. 18. Song against the king of Almaine, M. Poesie, pg. 153, 6. 13. 18. 25 &c. Aynb. of Inw. 65, 21; 76, 18 (*alneway*); 108, 6. R. d. Hamp. 146, 2; 152, 2 (*alif*); Maundev. 165, 1; 182, 16; 185, 21 (*alif*); Chaucer, C. T. 3394, 3877, 4777, 5184 (*albeit*), 5204, 5940, 6781, 7409, 8322, 9335, 10051, 12215, 12363, 13077 (*al*), 13876, 14819 *Be blithe, although thou ride upon a jade*; 14819 *What though thyn horse be bothe foule and lene*. Tale of Melib., Aldine edit. III, pgg. 141 (*al be it so that*) 143, 148, 155, 160, 165 &c. Pers. Tale, pg. 533 (*al*). Owl and Nightg. 809, 811, 877, 881, 962. Prov. of Hendyng 75, 113, 165. R. R. d. Hamp. Prose Treat. 128, 19; 144, 26; 150, 14. Trevisa 359, 5. Serm. ag. Mir.-plays, M. Pr. 231, 8 (*albeit that*); 233, 7. 15.

In the Ancr. R. at page 336 *Quia causa humilitatis mentitur fit quod prius ipse non fuit, id est peccator* is Englished by *þe þet lihð on himsulf þuruh to muchel edmodnesse, he is imaked sunful, þauh he er nere*. It is interesting to see, how the old language thus takes up a past fact in its possible future reiterated occurrence for argument's sake, and generalizes it, so to say, by representing reality only by one of its inherent proprieties: by its potentiality. A more

¹ Add pg. 350 (*allegate*?).

striking example yet is St. Cristopher, *Lives of Saints*, M. Poesie, pg. 197, 106, where a child exclaims:—*No wonder, Cristofre beg ic heuyere were þan al þe wordle*, whereas in 98 et seqq. it has been reported that the child *was* heavy. Comp. *Ey*, *for the veray God that n'is but on, What maken ye so moche of Salomon? What though he made a temple, What though he riche were and glorious?* *Canterb. Tales*.

d) Among concessional periods we have to number in Ags. and O. E. phrases like:—*Nis hit nan wundor ðeah þu getyrige*. Boeth. cap. 40, § 5. We could still substitute *though* to *if*. Comp. the above quoted *Sir Crist*. 106; *Fragm. of Popular Science*, M. Poesie, pg. 142, 192 (fact), time of Edw. I; *Ayenb. of Inw.* 87, 8; 88, 20; *Sermon against Miracle-plays*, M. Prosa, pg. 237, 10 (end of the 14th cent.); C. T. 7048. In *Fall and Pass*. 157 (M. Poesie, pg. 127) *wep*, preterit, (*wept*) we are certainly in presence of an undistinguishable mood; it besides rhymes with *dep* (deep).

e) The only indicatives we found in our documents (see *Introd. II*) are:—

1. Present. *Ayenb. of Inw.* 117, 7; *Pers. Tale*, pgg. 532 (*though so be that*), 538 (*is*); *Tale of Mel.*, pgg. 144, 150, 153 (*al be it so that*); C. T. 2453.

2. Pret. and comp. perf. *Cant. T.* 68, 299, 2705, 7080, 8283, 16412; *Tale of Mel.*, pg. 177; *Pers. T.*, pg. 519 (*al be it so . .*); *Rom. of the Rose* 1885.

V. THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN THE COMPARATIVE SENTENCE INTRODUCED BY "ÐONNE".

§ 26. a) One department of the comparative sentence is the scene of a subjunctive very near akin to the subj. in the concessive sent. just treated of: When the result of comparison between the activities, resp. of measurement over against each other, turns out to be such, that the subject-matter of the main sentence is quantitatively or qualitatively superior to that subject-matter which furnished the measure of comparison, the relatively lesser value of the latter finds an eloquent expression by the subj. mood; f. i.:—

*Ic eom on stence strengre [miclê] þonne ricels oððe rôse sȝ
[þe svâ aenlice] on eorðan tyrf vynlic veaxeð. Râts. 41, 24;
The sonne is hegere than the mone more than suche threo
Than hit beo hunne to the mone, the lasse heo is to seo.
Fragm. of Pop. Science 97. If the comparative of the adj. or
the adv. thus standing in the main sentence, be negatived, there
will no longer exist superiority of the main activity over the
other; then, the relation being that of equality (or perhaps of
inferiority), the subj. is not wanted:—Aelfr., de Nov. Test.
12, 21 *Crist sylf cveð be him, þæt ne cōme nateshvon betvux
vîfa bearnum nōn maerra man, þonne he vās.**

If the comparative be a so-called comparative of inferiority, the indic. likewise comes in:—*þe opre zenegeþ, to begge þe
þinges ase corn oper wyn oper oper þing lesse be þe halue dele
þanne hit his worþ. Aenb. of Inw. 91, 3; whereas 90, 15 after
derrer þane the subj. occurs, agreeing with the law stated*

above:—... *panne wyle he zelle þe derrer tuyes oper þries
zuo moche þane þet þing by worþ.*

Thus it would be inexact to say that the subj. appears after affirmative comparat. sentences¹, since the affirm. comparat. sentence does not yet imply superiority of its activity. Moreover an affirm. question may present a negative sense and by that reason be followed by the indic. Comp. R. R. de Hamp., Prick of Consc. 856.

b) The subj. in question belongs to other German tongues as well: Behaghel (Die Modi im Heliand, § 27 et seqq.) follows up its use in Old Saxon (Heliand); Erdmann (Syntax Otfrids, §§ 201 and 202) in Old High German; Ludw. Bock (Ueber einige Fälle des Conjunctivs im Mittelhochdeutschen, § 1 et seqq.) in Middle High German, reviewing different opinions about the reason of the phenomenon.

c) So we may content ourselves simply to ascertain the fact as for Ags. and O. E. by further quotations and references of some concluding passages.

1. Ags. (subj. pres. and pret.):—Byrhtnoth 195; Dan. 523 (maege); Satan 213, 597; Crist 903, 840, 989. Jud. 333; Gúthl. 1221, 1295; Ráts. 40, 4; 41, 60 *Svylce ic eom vráðre þonne vermôð sý, [þe] her on hyrstum heaseve stondeð.* Passages like this and Ráts. 41, 24 quoted before, where the activity taken as standard of comparison is further defined and marked out by a relative clause, prove that the subj. cannot be due to the exact degree or intensity of the activity being problematic. Of what avail would it be to make an unknown activity the measure over against the activity of the main sentence? Nor do the 2^d members of such comparative periods present anything like a negative purport as L. Bock (loc. cit.) seems inclined to think.—Further inst^s:—Metra 10, 23;

¹ The treatises mentioned below (under b) thus shape the rule for their respective dialects.

19, 42 *forpām hig sint earmran and eac dysegran ungesaelig-ran þonne ic þe secgað mæge!* 21, 27. The formula-like *mā þonne gemet vaere* appears f. i. Dan. 250; And. 1180; Boeth. 14, 2; 26, 1; 34, 8; 38, 3 (thrice); 38, 6; 39, 7. *þonne* adverb, temporal conjunction, and comparative conjunction, are brought close together in Cap. 13, pg. 58 m.:—*ge eac þa welan beoþ hliseadigran and leoftaelran þonne, þonne hie mon selþ, þonne hie beon þonne hi mon gadraþ and healt.* Aelfr., de Vet. Test. 11, 25.

2. Old-English:—A. R. 86 t., 164 (*þis bruchele uetles is bruchelure þene beo eni gles*), 198, 234 *Plures nobiscum sunt quam cum illis* is Englished by *We habbeð (cweð he) mo þen heo beon, to helpe on ure halwe.* 320, 352; Fragm. of Pop. Sc. 238; K. Horn 331; Aynb. of Inw. 77, 25 *þet went by more worþ þanne he by, ofer more may þanne he moge.* 78, 2; 81, 11; 90, 13.

d) It has to be remarked that, with modal words like *magan*, mood rests on the same principle as with any other verb, whether the modal verb appear in symbolic or presentive meaning. (For exemplification see among the just given references those underlined.) An exception occurs A. R. 198.

In other places, as in the cases of the optat. and jussive (§ 1), the fact that those auxiliary verbs were originally themselves in the subj., when phrasing it, shows itself much more distinctly than here.

§ 27. a) Behaghel (loc. cit. § 24) imputes the subj. in question to its denoting "diminished reality" (*verringerte Realität*); Erdmann (loc. cit. § 188 b.) agrees with him when he attributes it to the relatively lesser value (*relativ geringere Geltung*). Whatever name we give to the sort of subj., it is sure to cause the idea of fact to step into the background, in order to allow the idea of superiority of one fact to the other to come the more forward. From such use of the subj. we may

infer a priori that, wherever the idea of fact is prominent—gets the better over the idea of its being inferior to another fact—, the indic. returns. Such cases are not unfrequent in Ags. and in Old English; they are the door through which the indic. will make its entrance into the comparative sentence, shuffling the subj. out of its legitimate function to reflect the contrast between two facts. If in the Heliand no inst. of the indic. can be found (see Behaghel loc. cit. § 27; of the subj. he gives but 6 examples), it is very likely to be but a change. In Middle High German at least, inst. of the indic. are not wanting.

b) Now the inducement to firm adherence to the idea of fact at the expense of the idea of contrast of facts, may be afforded by adverbs of time or any other determination of time, whether expressed by words or sentences. In Crist 1492:—*Nu is svaerre mid mec þinra synna rôð, þe ic unwillum on beom gefästnad, þonne seó ôder väs, þe ic aer gestäg villum mînum*, the fact implied by *þonne seó ôder väs* cannot be lessened, so to say, for it is held up in its intensity by the subsequent relative clause. Comp. Chron. 1137 E, pg. 263 m.:—*and wend þe tun betere þan it aer was*. 1140 E, pg. 2656:—*þa was þe K' strengere þanne he aeuert her was*. Further indic. occasioned by *aer (ere)*:—A. R. 162; Gen. and Exod. 2148 (rhyme); Dunstan 151.

The indic. in Maundev., Trav. 164, 16 already belongs to a time when the indic. had altogether supplanted the subj. (See below.)

c) Without any such determination of time the indic. occurs:—Moral Ode 1 *Ich em nu alder, þene ich wes, a wintre and a lare*. (Zupitza, Uebgsb., pg. 34); A. R., pg. 396 *He (Crist) luueð us more þen eni moder deð hire child*. Taking away from the intensity of the mother's love of her child by putting the subj., would have been injurious to the notion of Christ's love being above every worldly love, even the best, which the writer of

the Ancr. Riwle was anxious to call up. Comp. the not unlike passages:—A. R., pg. 138 . . . *lihture þen þe wind is and brihture þen þe sunne is*. 190; Bestiary 266 (rhyme); Hymn to the Virgin., Mätz. Poesie, pg. 53, I, 2, where the Holy Virgin is thus addressed:—*Of on that is so fayr and brigȝt, velut maris stella, Brigter than the day is ligȝt, parens et puella* &c. (probably first half of the 13th cent. See the introduction to the Hymns, pg. 53 Mätz. Poesie).

d) In the Ten Commandments, end of the 13th cent. (Mätz. Poesie, pg. 130, 71) *þog thou be stuter þan is he, No is wif no is catel*, the indic. is evidently already due to a corruption of the old sense for that syntactic use of the subj. we described above. Here again we witness (and shall have further occasion to do so) that great difference in speech between the beginning of the 13th cent. and the end when new-fangled things crop up. Thus the indic. in *þo was he sikerere þan he was*, St. Crist. 113, Lives of Saints (end of the 13th cent.), will have to be explained as innovation. Comp. R. R. de Hamp. Prose Treat. 137, 11. In 137, 14 the indic. stands even after a conditional main sentence with the subj.:—*if a mane halde it in his awene mare þane it es*. While the Northern Hampole has adopted the New., i. e. the indic., the Kentish Dan Michel (Ayenbite of Inwyt) keeps to the Old. See the inst^a just given § 24 c, 2. Corruption seems to have had its central seat in the North as in the case treated of § 14 d.

Inst^a of the indic. in Maundev. are Trav. 172, 4; 175, 21. Comp. further:—Serm. against Miracle-plays (end of the 14th c.) 237, 9; 240, 15.

e) In Chaucer's Canterbury Tales we did not see a single subj. Indic^a occur 3248, 6025, 8865, 9548, 10282, 10860. In passages like the following, the indic. would have been shocking to an Anglosaxon and to any Englishman before the latter half of the 13th cent.:—Pers. Tale, pg. 530 m. *At every tyme that man eteth and drinketh more than sufficeth to the sustenance*

of his body, in certain he doth sinne; eke whan he speketh more than it nedeth . . . eke if he love wif or child, or other wordly thing, more than reson requireth.

§ 28. The regular indic. after a negative sentence (see § 26 a) stands f. i. Gen. 825; Gúthl. 1030:—*Vyrd ne meahte in faegum leng feorg gehealdan, deóre frätve, þonne him gedēmed vās.* Aelfr., Preface to the Genes. 24, 10; Chron. 979 E, 1016 E and F, pg. 157; K. Horn 13. In Deut. 25, 15:—*Häbbe älc man rihtne anmittan and rihte vaegan and rihte gemetu on älcum þingum, þät hig nāder ne sīn ne lāssan ne mārān, þonne hit riht sig* . . . and the like, the subj. is of quite an other character and does not speak against the principles pointed out in the present chapter.

In Boeth. Cap. 26, § 1, pg. 140 m. there stands a subj. which, at first sight, would seem to be incompatible with the rule requiring the indic. after a negat. sentence:—*forþam þe hi heora nabbap ma þonne hi heora habban.* When however we learn that *nabbap* means *indigere* and that the subject-matter is really affirmative, the subj. *habban* appears to be quite in its place. We need but substitute to *nabbap* the synonymous *þurfan* to settle the difficulty.

VI. THE SUBJUNCTIVE OF THE TEMPORAL SENTENCE INTRODUCED BY "AER".

§ 29. a) If the activity of a temporal sentence follows the action of the principal sentence, it is in Ags. introduced by *aer*, adverbial comparative belonging originally to the principal sentence, and by *aer ðam ðe*.

Here the subj. mood stands in the pres. and pret. in most cases. With reference to the mood of Old Saxon, Behaghel (loc. cit. § 25) establishes the same principle as for the mood in the comparative sentence (see § 26 a of our essay):—*Aer* being comparative, the subj. appears after the affirmative, and the indic. after the negat. sentence. It does not seem to him too daring to explain an exception, Hel. 4349 M, as a slip (pg. 36, § 25).

For Otfrid, Erdmann (loc. cit. § 211) proves the same principle to exist.

b) Returning to Ags. it is remarkable that the subj. is by no means confined to the temporal clause in question after the affirmative principal sentence; it often appears after a negative one. The reason is that the use of the subj. arises from two different causes. Where one fails, the other often comes in. Such complexity of agents makes it difficult to get a clear insight into the nature of the subj. in question.

c) When appearing after a positive sentence, as f. i. in *Beóv.* 676 *Gespræc þá se gôða gylpvorda sum Beóvulf Geáta, ær he on bed stige*, it is the subj. of the not yet realized fact. It is natural that, of two facts, that one which has not yet taken place while the other is happening should be expressed by the subj., while the indic. is reserved to the other one.

d) From such explanation it follows that, when the occurrence of the activity of the princ. sentence is denied, there is no need of distinguishing the activity of the dependent sentence from that of the main sentence; for their relative value is the same, neither of them taking place at the moment of the non-occurrence of the main activity. Thus the indic. turns up after a negat. sentence f. i. in *Sat.* 409 *and ne mōste Efe þá gyt vltan in vuldor, ær heó vordum cvād &c.*, and generally in the pret. Comp. *Elene* 863¹, 1243; *Crist* 315; *Numeri* 12, 15 (... *donec revocata est Maria*). *Matth.* 24, 29 (... *donec venit &c.*). Thus in the latter inst^a, the Ags. indic. had a model in Lat.

e) There is however an influence from an other side acting upon mood. That second factor coming into consideration is, that the activity of the temporal sentence—belonging to futurity from the stand-point of the activity of the main sentence—may turn out to be the object kept in view, while the action of that main sentence is going on.

Herefrom it results that, though the principal clause be negative, the subj. may stand in the temporal sentence in question to express a thing wished for, looked forward to; in one word—as optative, f. i.:—*Elene* 1084 *á mīn hyge sorgað, reónig reóteð and geresteð nō, ærþan me gefylle fūder ālmīhtig vereda vealdend villan mīnne nīða nergend þurh þāra nāgla cyme hālig of hiéhðo*. Then the subj. strongly resembles that of the final sentence (see § 9). It ought to be discussed

¹ As for the very rare pres. indic. with negat. princ. sentences see § 80, 4 c.

alongside of it in deference to consistency of principles; but for fear of confusion we prefer presenting it here.

Many of the subj^a pres. after positive sentences may be due to the same cause as this subj. after negat. sentences¹. In the pret., subjunctives after negat. sent^a are wanting, while in the present they abound; obviously for the same reason why in the final sentence the pret. indic. stands where we should expect the subj. (see § 7 b):—With the Anglo-Saxon the idea of a fact being a fact often outweyed the idea of its being the purpose of an activity.

f) For exemplification to a), b), c), d), e), we subjoin the following table of reference:—

1. a) Subj. pres. after positive indic. sentences:—Beóv. 251, 1370 (*aer-aer*); Gen. 2469; Elene 676; Gúthl. 994; Andr. 1356, 1441; Phōnix 107; Ps. 57, 8 (*aer-aer*); 126, 3 (after a question); Boeth. 31, 1:—*forþam þe manig wif swelt for hire bearne aer heo hit forþbringan mæge*; 39, 5 (*aer-aer*); 39, 6 (*aer-aer*); 41, 3 (*aer-aer*); 41, 4; Genes. 27, 10; Matth. 26, 34.

b) Subj. pres. after imperat^a or optat^a. We mention but a few out of so many inst^a (as appear particularly in the Laws), since it is a matter of question, whether the subj. arises here from the same cause as in the preceding instances, or from the peculiar nature of the governing verb:—Beschwörungen, Rieger, pg. 144, 1 *Genim þonne on niht, ær hit dagige* &c.; Dan. 588 (imp.); Elene 447 (imp.); Gen. 11, 4 (opt.).

2. Subj. pret. after positive indic. sentences. Beóv. 263, 731, 2818; Gen. 1158, 1642, 2765; Crist 464, 544; Dan. 593; Jud. 252; And. 1031; Ps. 73, 12; Råts. 56, 7; Chron., pg. 5 E, Anno 836 A and E, 920 A, 982 C, 1050 D

¹ See f. i. Phōn. 245.

and 1051 D, 1154; Aelfr., de Vet. Test. 9, 24; Genes. 2, 5; 37, 18; Exod. 12, 34; John 17, 24; Chron. 1129 E., pg. 258 m.; Matth. 5, 58; 26, 34; Ps. 118, 67; 89, 2 *Aerþon munta gesceaft ofer middangeard . . . vaere, þu cart.* In similar position the indic. stands John 8, 58:— *Ic waes aerðam ðe Abraham waes; antequam Abraham fieret, ego sum.* Maeso-Goth. always presents the subj. after *faurþizei* (*faurþizei A. waurþi, im ik.*).

3. Subj. pres. with negative sentences:—Gen. 2531; Rät. 3, 11; Boeth., cap. 33, § 2, pg. 192 t.; Gen. 11, 6 *ne gesvicað hig aer þam þe hit gearn sig, nec desistent a cogitationibus suis, donec eas opere compleant*; 19, 22; 32, 26:—*Ne forlaete ic þe, aer þu bletsige me, non demittam te, nisi benedixeris mihi*; 42, 15 (after negat. imp.); Matth. 5, 18. 26; 10, 23; 16, 28; 17, 9 (after negat. imp.); 23, 39; 24, 34¹; Mark. 9, 1.

But also if the phenomena concerned do not appertain to the moral world as in most of the inst^a quoted hitherto in No. 3, but to blind nature, the subj. still is maintained after negat. sentences. Thus *then the stars cannot shoot forth such shining light until the thick mist becomes thinner* corresponds to Ags. *ne maegen hi svá leóhtne leóman ansendan, aer se picca mist þynra veorðe* Metra 5, 5; comp. 5, 46; 18, 11; 27, 14; Phönix 40, 83; Wand. 64 (*áge*).

At the bottom of such use of the subj. lies that childlike view of nature which, from want of insight in its laws, supposed it to be the foot-ball of an arbitrary will.^a

The subj. in Gúthl. 1195 stands after a sent. but seemingly negative (*ic ne vát*), and its right place would be under No. 1.

¹ In all the inst^a from the Scriptures *aer* (*aer ðam ðe*) translates the Latin *donec* and corresponds to the modern *till*.

^a Comp. §§ 6 d, 8.

4. Indicatives:—

a) Pres. with posit. main sentence. Seef. 69; Boeth. 11, 2, pg. 52 t.; Matth. 6, 8 *Eower faeder wat hwaet eow bearf is aerðam ðe ge hyne biddaþ* (*antequam—petatis*).

b) Pret. with posit. main sentence. Beóv. 2019; Sat. 544 *Didimus vās hāten, aer he inid hondum haelend genom sylfne be sidan*. Elene 1246, 1248, 1250, 1251 (all parallel, belonging to the same main sent.); Chron. 1044 C, 1043 E.¹

c) Pres. with negat. main sentence. The only inst^a are Dômes Dæg 72; Metra 29, 11; Boeth. 5, 1, pg. 16 h.; John 13, 38.

d) As for the pret. with negat. main sentences see § 29 d.

Owing to the principles laid down in c) and d), the indic. in:—*Ne craewþ se coce aer ðu wið-saecst me priwa* John 13, 38 (quoted in No. 3), is justly opposed to the subj. in Matth. 26, 34 (quoted f 1) where the same sentence occurs. The Latin, in both cases, presents the same mood (subj.). Modern English varies the conjunctions, John 13, 38 *The cock shall not crow, till thou hast denied me thrice*; Matth. 26, 34 *Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice*. So scarce are the indic^a in Ags. against the large proportion of subj^a, that Sweet in his *Ags. Reader* has been led to declare that “the conj. *aer* is always followed by the subj.”

§ 30. a) In Old-English the principle of Ags. to distinguish the relative value of activities by mood, is gradually abandoned; hence the appearance of the indic. after positive sent^a. Instead of that principle, a reflected manner of representation, which consists in suspending the subj. upon intentionality, takes shape; hence frequent inconsistencies, for a usage resting on the subjective discretion of the speaker, cannot be so firm as one built upon the sense inherent to language of marking out the

¹ In Sat. 503 and Elene 1254 which Grein (Gloss. art. *aer*) alleges to be indic^a, mood is not distinguishable; nor in And. 1052, all explained by him as subj^a.

disparity of two facts, of which one is accomplished at a given time, the other but to begin: The former principle, that of Old E., bears its reason in the subject; the latter, that of Ags., in the object itself.

b) Then again, sentences introduced by *er* turn out to be less frequent in Old English than formerly, not only because other conjunctions like *before*, *til*, begin to fill the place of the Ags. *aer*, but also in consequence of the tendency of Old English to drop Ags. constructions with verbs finite and to replace them by verbs infinite¹. The same end would be attained by condensing a subordinate sentence into a member of the main sentence².—*Til* stands f. i. in W. and Tynd. in Matth. 5, 18; 5, 26; 10, 23; 17, 9; 24, 34, where Ags. presents *aerðam ðe*.

c) Instances of the subj. in Old English:—

1. Pres. and positive main sentence. A. R. 178, 196, 220, 370, 208 (after imperat.), 324, 256 (after optat.); Liff. of St. Jul., pg. 44 *We ouerstiheð ham er ha lest wenen*; Sermon, Mätz. Prosa, pg. 47, 12 (beginning of the 13th cent.); Owl and Nightg. 862; Best. 208 (before imperat.); Signa ante Jud., Mätz. Poesie, pg. 123, 96; Fragm. of Pop. Sc. 214 *If hit is cold up an heg, the dropen falleth to snowe, As hi freoseth a-down-ward her er hi come so lowe* 342; Ayenb. of Inw. 88, 2; R. R. de Hamp. 135, 31; P. the Ploughm.'s Vision 310; Chaucer, C. T. 4239, 7210 (after optat.), 9704, 12220 (after imperat.), 13754, 14144, 16177 (before optat.); Tale of Mel., Ald. Ed., vol. III, pg. 145.

2. Pret. and posit. main sent. O. E. H., I. Ser., pg. 5; I, pg. 9; Liff. of St. Jul., pg. 8; Rob. of Glouc. I, 223; II, 44, 45; Dunst. 2; Beket 1844, 2436, 2438, 2444; Trevisa 365, 13

¹ Comp. § 6.

² In Ags. and Early English constructions like *þe sune wussheð þe fader deað, or his dai cume = filius ante diem patris inquiri annos abond.* Sermon, Mätz. Prose, pg. 47, 12 (beginning of the 13th cent.).

And Marcus rod oute at þat place þoru þe wal, longe or it were day. Chaucer C. T. 4903, 6337, 15007 *And so befell, that, long or it were day, This man met in his bed, ther as he lay.* 17001 *And er that he agen were in the sadel, Ther was gret shoving bothe to and fro.* 1629 *Arcite is ridden anon unto the toun, And on the morwe, or it were day light, Ful prively two harneis hath he dight.*

3. Subj. pres. and negat. main sent. A. R. 118 *No mon ne mei juggen blod wel er hit beo cold.* Serm. II (beginning of the 13th cent.); Mätz., pg. 50, 6; Hendyng 81.

4. Subj. pret. and negat. main sent. Trev. 365, 5 (*at his heed was founde a lanterne brennyng alway, þat no man coupe quenche wiþ blast noþer wiþ water noþer wiþ oper craft, or pere were imade an hole vnder þe lygt byneþe*).

d) Instances of indicatives in O. E. :—

1. Pres. and positive main sentence. Bestiary 91 *Al is man so is tis ern . . . old in hise sinnes dern, or he bicumeth cristen*; 94 (*can* stands in the rhyme). Ayenb. of Inw. 117, 20 *ne nobyng nollep do erþan me gabbeþ of ham.*

2. Perf. and posit. main sentence. A. R., pg. 366; Orm. 11750; Gen. and Exod. 2504; K. Horn 1015; Ps. 118, 67, Mätz., pg. 271 (time: Edw. IInd's reign); Cant. T. 1042, 3733, 8823, 11969, 14526, 15184, 15254.

e) The preceding table shows that, where the subj. was most characteristic in olden times, in the perf., the indic. had gained firm ground with Chaucer. If we confront c, 2 with d, 2 f. i.—the subj. of C. T. 1629, 15007—with the indicatives of 1042 *Er it was day as she was wont to do, She was arisen, and all redy dight*, and 15184 . . . *And trade hire eke as oft, er it was prime*, we become conscious of the sweeping change from Ags. to Chaucer: Mood is no longer of the same nature.

The following passage from John's Gospel given in its Ags. and Old English shape, may serve as clear illustration of the change:—Ags. *Gebeorhta mid ðē sylfum, ðaere beorhtnysse ðe ic hæfde myd ðē, aerðam ðe middan-eard waere = . . . quam habui prius quam mundus esset, (Vetus Italica) 17, 5. Wycl. . . . that I hadde at thee, bifore the world was maad (= . . . quam habui apud te priusquam mundus esset, Vulg.); Tynd. . . . yerre the worlde was.*

VII. THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN THE RELATIVE CLAUSE AFTER SUPERLATIVES AND "EALL".

§ 31. *a)* The subjunctive in the relative clause after superlatives, pointed out as for Old Saxon by Behaghel (*Die Modi im Heliand*, § 24), as for Old and Middle High German by L. Bock (*Ueber einige Fälle des Conjunctivs im Mittel-Hochdeutschen*, § 8, pg. 29) is also a characteristic of Anglo-Saxon. Some instances are given by Dietrich, when, in Haupt's *Zeitschrift* X, pgg. 332 and 333, ad Cædmon 2177, and XI, pg. 444 et seqq., he proves Ags. to lean in some cases towards using the singular of the verb instead of the plural, especially with the subjunctive. Behaghel associates that subj. with the subj. after comparatives, expressing "negation with reference to that degree of the property denoted by the superlative, and therefore lessening of reality" (*Verringerung der Realität*); see loc. cit. §§ 24 *b* and 27 *b*. Zarncke (*Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* 2, 144, 10) numbers the sentences after the superlative with those of a negative purport (see L. Bock, loc. cit. § 10, pg. 33). Neither of these views does seem to us acceptable.

b) We first have to come to certainty as to what is the real antecedent of the relative clause. Here the Ags. idiom with its superlative followed by *pāra þe* (*of those who, which*), is proper to lead us. Let us for inst. take Dan. 693 *pāt vās pāra fästna folcum cūðost, maest and maerost, pāra þe men*

bán. The antecedent of the relative clause is not the superlative, but the genitive *pára fästna*, to which the subsequent demonstrative *pára* points back; now the subj. is no longer puzzling, since we recognize the relative clause to mean . . . (of those) which men may inhabit. The superlative gains of power and relief when it is stated, that the stronghold was the most magnificent not only of those which men are known to inhabit in fact, but of all those which may be or might be constructed by men.

Thus the nature of the subj. after the superlative is to imply, that not only the facts of which we are aware of, but all similar facts which might happen or have happened, are comprised.

c) That the verb may be in the singular, even if, as usually, the true antecedent be a genitive plural (not a sing.) arises from a confusion of antecedents, the verb agreeing with the superlative (a singular), and not with the genitive of which the superlative is dependent.

When that genitive is not again referred to by the demonstrative *pára* answering to the adjectival *pára* preceding the genitive, such confusion is not astounding, since the genitive, appearing in the old language before its governing word, is farther distant from the relative clause than the superlat. Comp. f. i. Gen. 627 *pá gieng tö Adame idesa scénost, vífa vlítegost, þe on voruld côme* with Beöv. 2130 *pät väs Hrôðgäre hreóva tornost pára þe leóðfruman lange begeáte*.—The antecedents of the relat. clause are respectively the gen. plur. *idesa hreóva*, and not *scénost*, nor *tornost*; notwithstanding such relation, the relative pronoun *þe* is grammatically connected with the superlatives in the immediate neighbourhood.

Grein, rendering the above quoted Gen. 627 by . . . *die wonnigste der Weiber, die in die Welt je kamen*, and Beöv. 2130 by . . . *das herbste von allen den Leiden, die den Leute-*

könig lange trafēn, is conscious of that logic relation, but German usage would have allowed him to say:— . . . *die wonnigste der Frauen, die je in die Welt kam*, and . . . *aller Leiden herbstes, das den Leutekōnig lange traf*. Such at least was Ags. usage.

The superlative is allowed to be separated from its genitive by the relative clause, as in Crist 225 *pāt vās pāra pinga, þe her þeōða cynn gefrugnen mid folcum, āt fruman acrest* &c.

d) Further instances of the subj. are:—

1. Pret. Crist 277 (*pāra þe*). 893; Elene 976 *sēlest sigebedcna pāra þe sīð oððe aer hālig under heofenum āhafēn vurde* &c. 1226; Dan. 618; Gúthl. 1333.

2. Pres. Jul. 207; Ps. 150, 4 (Cotton); Rāts. 42, 5.

§ 32. a) It is quite consistent with the explanation of the subjunctive in question that, when the relative sentence does not qualify the species out of which the subject to whom the superlative refers, is taken, but simply adds a property,—the subj. is missing. Comp. Crist 521 . . . *ealra sigebearna pāt sēleste and ādelste, pāt ge her on stariað*. Phōnix 397; Boeth. 33, 4. So with the loosely connected relat. clause . . . *hyhta hghst, se gehvylcum sceal foldbūendra fremde geveorðan*. Gúthl. 34. Here and in the preceding examples the true antecedent is just the superl. itself, and not the depending genitive, a proof how far the superl. is from having caused the subjunctives in question.

b) It is again consistent with our explanation that, if in the relative clause qualifying a species as above said, we do not mean to include that there might be cases of which we are not aware, but simply have in view those we know of and are present to our minds,—the indic. reappears: Comp. Liber Jos. 6, 2 *Ic dō pās buruh Hiericho on þinum gevealde and þone cýning samod and þā strengstan veras, þe vuniað on hire* (. . . *et regem ejus omnesque fortes viros*). Mark. 4, 31;

Chron. 891 A:—*and Swifneh se betsta lareow þe on Scottum waes gefor*¹ 1052 D, pg. 179 l.

c) The relative clauses after *aelc þára (þe) aeghvelc, gehvīlc þára (þe)* and the like, equally show the sing.² of the verb agreeing with *aelc, aeghvelc* &c., though the plural occurs too:—*lifgendra gehvām þe . . . veorden*. Here the subjunctive seldom appears; comp. Crist 1069 *folcdryht vera biforan bonnað sávla gehvylce, þára þe sið oððe aer on lichoman leoðum onfēngen*. Gúthl. 722 (after a direct interrogat. sent.). Indic³:—Andr. 1154; Gúthl. 741; Panth. 18; Jud. 50; Metra 1, 3; 13, 32; Boeth. 34, 12,

d) NOTE.—After or before imperat⁴ and optat⁵ the subj. of the relat. clause is of a different nature. (See § 22.)

e) With *eall* and *eallra* as antecedents, the relat. clause too appears with the subj., but not to the same extent as with the superlative; the nature of the subj. is the same as before.

1. Subjunctives:—Chron. 963 E, pg. 121 l. *Ic geate . . . ealle þa þorpes þe ðaerto lín*; pg. 33 E; 675, pg. 38; pg. 39; 1127; pg. 256 E.

2. Indicatives:—

a) Pret.:—Gen. 1280; Crist 559; Gúthl. 503.

b) Pres.:—Metra 13, 34; 29, 70; Ps. 75, 8; 79, 15; 89, 11; Gúthl. 39, 499; Chron., pg. 37 . . . *alle þa abbotes þa sindon on Engla-lande*. 356 E, pg. 30, pg. 31 E; 675, pg. 39; 1031 A; Boeth. 16, 1 (after an interrogat. sent.); Aelfr., de Vet. Test. 2, 14; de Nov. Test. 12, 7; Gen. 6, 17; 9, 3.

¹ = . . . *se betsta lareow þára þe on Scottum waes* (i. e. *waeron*). The true antecedent is a genitive (plural) dependent on the superlative to be supplied. That *þára* may be left out, we saw above; that the sing. stands though indic., is due to the confusion of antecedents above alluded to.

Dietrich, in *Haupts Zeitschrift* XI, pg. 445 et seqq., points out that the sing. occurs with a subject in the plural even when indic., though less often.

² We of course have in view but the case of *þe* being subject.

Even with optat^a and imperat^a the indic. is met:—Ps. 117, 4; (108, 28 subj.); 134, 21; Gen. 1, 26. 28; 8, 16; 9, 2; Exod. 9, 19; 33, 16 (after the subj. in the final sent.).

§ 33. a) In Old English the subj. spoken of became quickly obsolete. In the Anceren Riwele we met still with traces of it. Comp., pg. 182 *Nolde me tellen him alre monne dusigest þæt forsoke enne buffet, nor one speres wunde; (. . . al þæt were ine helle*, pg. 242 b, stands in a hypothetic construction); but afterwards we did not come across more than one inst.: — Hamp. Prose Treat. 139, 19 . . . *þan for all þe precyouse payntyng and þe arraynge þat þou haue made about his heuede*.

Thus Lagamon, though writing poetry, in Ags. the favourite domain of this subj., can say 14320 *he wes þe bezste latimer þat aer com her*; comp. Best. 500 *Cethegrande is a fis ðe moste ðat in water is* (is certainly has not been forced into the verse by rhyme). Cristoph. 10 (14 *þe hexte man þat owhar were*, is orat. obl.). C. T. 9973 *Becomen is the sovefullest man That ever was*. Comp. 13092; Rom. of the Rose 282 (rhyme); Trevisa 354, 4; Pers. Tale, pg. 516 t.:—*Al were it the foulest chorle, or the foulest woman that liveth, and lest of value, yet is he than more foule, and more in servitude*.

b) For exemplification of the indic. being in Old E. the rule after *eall*, see f. i. A. R., pgg. 12, 26; Sermon II, 49, 7 in Mätzner, Prosa (beginning of the 13th cent.), even with the optat. Fragma. of Pop. Sc. 251; Old E. Gilds, pg. 3, &c., &c.

VIII. THE SUBJUNCTIVE AS MOOD OF THE INDIRECT SPEECH.

§ 34. *a)* As mood of the indirectly reported statement, the subjunctive appears in a merely formal function¹, that, to reflect outwardly the immediate dependence of a construction made up with the contents of a direct statement,—from a verb of Saying, Uttering &c. That the subj. does not stand in the *orat. obl.* owing to the circumstance of the statement being foreign, as Erdm. (*loc. cit.* § 61) thinks, becomes evident from the fact that, if the speaker himself happens to make his own statement dependent on a verb of Saying, the subj. stands none the less (See below). As to whether the statement refer to a fact or not, whether the subject-matter be vouched by the reporter, as regards its objective reality and truth, the subj. does not tell. It simply represents a statement as reported. In the first person, reporter and author of the statement are identical.

b) If the reporter wishes to set off a statement in its objective truth, the indicative with its sub-implication of fact has to come in. The statement then turns out to be a reported fact; whereas with the subj. it is report and nothing more.

¹ Erdmann, *Synt. Otfrid's* § 61, explains the subj. of the *orat. obl.* from the absolute value (*Absolute Geltung*) of the mood.

Of course, if a statement is but of thought¹, as opposed to fact, there is no occasion at all of using the indic. The subj. to stand in such plight, is of a twofold character: formally the mood of indirect speech, materially the expression of thought. Consequently the subj. being used up in its formal function, does not afford any means of representing a reported statement as not acknowledged by the reporter.

c) If a statement has to be set off as not acknowledged by the reporter, the Ags. makes shift of the modal verb *sculan*, the German *sollen* in similar function. In Boeth., cap. 35, § 4, pg. 252 m. "Wisdom" addresses the philosopher saying:—*Ic wat þ. þu geherdest oft reccan (tell) on ealdum leasum spellum þ. te Job Saturnes sunu sceolde beon se hehsta God ofer opre Godas and he sceolde bion ðaes heofenes sunu and scolde ricsian on heofenum and sceoldon gigantas bion eorþan suna . . . &c.* This excursion into ancient mythology is commented upon by *ðyllice leasunga hi worhton*. Further on that *sculan* of fiction passes over into the regular indicative to relate the "history" of the Tower of Babel. Comp. the fable of Orpheus and Eurydice, *ibid.* cap. 35, § 6, pg. 260 et seqq. (The verb of Saying is understood.)

d) We have been so far giving broad outlines of the use of moods in the direct speech; now we shall have to elucidate it in particular.

First of all it may be remarked, that the form of the oratio obliqua is in great favour with Ags. Instances of the subjunctival indirect speech without the connective conjunction *þæt*, or the so-called interrogative pronouns, are of rare occurrence: The three men in the fiery furnace *cveðað he sie ána álmih̃tig god*. Dan. 426; Boeth. 24, 3; Boeth. 36, 6 *Ic secge sie unmihtig and eac ealles nauht*; viz. *hwa wuht*.—In Gen. 276; Beóv.

¹ See f. i. Andr. 764; Gen. 2623, 2650, 1832; Gen. 12, 13

199, 1810, 2939; Andr. 1111, 1641; Metra 7, 4, quoted by Grein (Glossary, art. *cveðan*), mood is not discernible.

e) *Cveðan* is the most consistent to call forth the subj.

1. Pres. indic. and pres. subj.:—Boeth. 5, 3; 34, 8; Gen. 581; Chron. 891 A. In Crist 284 it appears coupled with *singan*:—*Cristes begnas cveðað and singað, þät þu sie hlaefdige hálgum meahtum &c.*

2. Perf. and perf. subj.:—Beóv. 3181 The people of the Geatas mourned over their lord's fall and *cvaedon þät he vaere vorold cyninga manna mildust*. Gen. 265, 274, 502, 504, 2028; Gúthl. 165; Elene 667; Ps. 52, 2; 91, 14; Crist 453; Chron. 755 A, 1003 E and F, 1066 C; Gen. 21, 6.

Cveðan helps to English the Latin direct question beginning with *numquid*:—*Numquid ego sum Rabbi, Cwyst ðu lareow hwæðer ic hyt si*. Matth. 26, 25; John VIII, 53. *Cwyst ðu* however may as well be treated as if it were merely an interrogative word, without in the least affecting the sentence in its character of a direct question:—*Cwyst ðu cymþ ðaet leoht faet &c. Numquid venit lucerna ut &c.* Mark. 4, 21; Matth. XI, 23; John 7, 51.

As soon as *cveðan* gets to imply the notion of asserting, as it does Boeth. 38, 7, pg. 320 b, it may be followed by the indic. to mark the contrast with *cveðan* = *to utter*:—*Ne cwepe ic na þ. þ yfel sie þ. mon helpe paes unscyldigan and him foreþingie. Ac ic cwepe þ. hit is betre þ. mon wrege þonc scyldigan and ic secge þ. sio forespraec ne dýge nauper ne þam scyldigan ne þam þe him fore þingap*¹.

The indic. pret* of Gen. 32, 18 and 42, 28 are certainly due to the direct speech following closely.

f) Aelfr., de Nov. Test. 12, 20 *Crist sylf cveð be him, þät ne cōme nateshvon betvux vīfa bearnum nān maerra man &c.*,

¹ Comp. further:—Aelfr., Grammar, pg. 263 *Priscianus cwæð, þaet sume sind Adversativæ*.

and *ibid.* 13, 13 *pás feóver bæc kyðað, hū Crist com tō mannum of Marian pam maedene* &c. confronted, show the distance between *cveðan* and *cȳðan* measured by the difference of moods: *Cȳðan* = *to announce, to proclaim* so vigorously suggests the notion of the subject-matter being a fact (else it would not be announced or proclaimed), that the formal mood of dependence is cast aside to allow the indic. to represent the subject-matter in its objective truth.

Thus the indic. is the rule with *cȳðan*:—

1. Indic. pres.:—*Beóv.* 257; *Elene* 607; *Gúthl.* 1196; *Ps.* 73, 19; *Judith* 155.

2. Indic. pret.:—*Beóv.* 1973, 2326; *Andr.* 700; *Jud.* 55 *codon þá stercedferhðe hāleð heora hearran cȳðan, þāt vās seó hālige meóvle gebroht on his búrgetelde.*—*Elen.* 169—188 is instructive to illustrate the contrast between *cvaedon* with the subj. pret. and *cȳðan* with indic. pret.—*Genes.* 38, 13; *Chron.* 1066 D, pg. 261 and E, 1075 E.—The announcement of an event sure to come may well take place by the indic. (future) after *cȳðan*:—*Rāts.* 81, 6 *Naenig óðrum mäg vlite and vísan vordum gecȳðan, hū mislic bið māgen þāra cynna, fyrr forðgesceaft.*

If the action of *cȳðan* turns out to be wished for, commanded, the subject-matter of the dependent sentence keeps for the reporter and hearer its character of mere report, and the subj., the mood of formal dependence, cannot be overpowered by the indic. as before:—*Andr.* 800 *Sceoldon hie pam folce gecȳðan, . . . hwaer se vealdend vaere.* *Elene* 607 *Cȳð hvät þu ville.* 605. *Ines* 17; 25, 1; *Gen.* 37, 14.—In *Elene* 860 *Ne meakte hire Judas (ne ful geare viste) sveotole gecȳðan be pam sigebeāme on hvylcne se haelend vaere,* the indic. could not well have stood, since the subject-matter is problematic even for the “speaker” Judas.

Just as we met *cveðan* raised to the meaning of *to assert*, *cȳðan* occurs released of its function to report statements as facts, and

sunk down to a mere exponent of the indirect speech. Then it is followed by the subj.:—Dan. 761 *siððan him vuldres veard vundor gecyðde, þät he vaere äna ealra gesceafta*. John 5, 15.

For clearness' sake *sculan* stands to denote futurity with reference to the past, as f. i. in Crist 298 *hêht sigores fruma his heähbodan hider gefleógan of his magenbrymme and þe meahthu spêd snûde cyððan, þät þu sunu dryhtnes þurh claene gebyrd cennan sceolde . . .*: The mere subj. pret. would not, as formal expression of the reported statement, have brought out the event as event to come.

g) *Secgan* does not, like *cyððan*, imply any indication as to the validity of the subject-matter reported. It is a wholly neutral verb of Saying. What we said in general about the mood of the indir. speech, meets here with its full application.

1. Pres. and pres. subj.:—Boeth. 34, 3, pg. 214 *Forþam ic secge mid rihtre gesceadwisnesse þ. þ. sie þ. hehste god &c.* Further inst^a of the first person:—Boeth. 34, 5; 38, 7; 39, 8, where the principal sentence is affirmative; in Boeth. 27, 2; 33, 1 (negative). Other persons:—Beóv. 411; Crist 279, 1550; Jul. 69, 347; Andr. 680; Räts. 40, 1. 14; Boeth. 13; 26, 1; 34, 2 (*secgan* and *andettan*) Gen. 12, 2; Exod. 33, 12; Matth. 22, 23. With the opt. and imperat. of *secgan*:—Gen. 1832; Gen. 12, 13; Elene 623; Räts. 2, 14; 3, 15; 4, 73. 74; 36, 14; Boeth. 5, 3; 8; 13; 16, 1; 30. With *secgan* used interrogatively:—Gen. 879; Boeth. 34, 3; 39, 11; Matth. 16, 15; Ps. 89, 13 (rhetoric question).

2. Pres. and pret. subj.:—Beóv. 945 *Hvät! þät secgan mäg efne svä hvylc mägða . . ., þät hyre eald metod este vaere bearn-gebyrdo!*, 2864; Metra 20, 186; Gen. 2563, 2613; Exod. 377; Boeth. 49, 4. Imperat. or optat. and subj. pret.:—Räts. 37, 8; Andr. 557.

3. Perf. and subj. pres.:—The Voyages of Ohtere and Wulfstan (Sweet, Ags. Reader, pg. 18, 1) *He saede ðeah ðaet ðaet land sie swiðe lang norð ðonan*.

4. Perf. and subj. perf.:—Beóv. 1175; Gen. 2623, 2650; Crist 451 (*cýðdon* and *sügdon*); Metra 20, 182; Gúthl. 1344; Oht. and Wulfst., loc. cit., pg. 19, 45; Boeth. 24, 3 b; 28; Gen. 42, 2 (*Ic gehirde secgan*); Chron. 81 E and A; 1036 E.

h) It is a fact worth notice, that, when the subject-matter happens to be reported from the Holy Scriptures, the indic. comes in, and with great regularity: an eloquent testimony to prove, how that book was to the Ags. the authority *par excellence*:—Aelfr., de Vet. Test. 6, 6; 6, 42 *On þisum bōcum us segð, þāt Saul vās gecoren acrest tō cýninge on Israhēla peóde &c.* De Nov. Test. 13, 23; 13, 35; Epil. ad Lib. Jud., pg. 264 (Grein); Crist 785 (*us secgað bēc, hū*).

i) After expressions like *Wundor is tō secganne hū* Beóv. 1724; *long is tō secganne hū* Rāts. 40, 23, the indic. arises from the circumstance of the attention being bent upon the fact, and the subj. of formal dependence never has attained in Ags. such strength as not to suffer the indic. to supplant it, whenever a stated fact comes out in its notoriety.

§ 35. a) In the struggle between form and purport of the indir. speech, now the form is uppermost, now the purport: Hence frequent interchange of moods. The Ags. subj. of the orat. obl. is a form, a model full of holes wherethrough its contents are allowed to slip.

With the first person of *secgan*, the indic. is often met with in the present:—Crist 324; Jul. 46; Andr. 458; Metra 12, 31; Boeth. 13; 22, 1; 38, 4,—after the perf. of *secgan* to state a generally acknowledged fact. The perf. indic. occurs after the 1st pers. pres.:—Gúthl. 1000 *Ic ville secgan þāt me sār gehrán &c.*; Boeth. 35, 2; Chron. 1137 E, pg. 262 m. Inst^d of other persons are:—Beóv. 392; Crist 324; Jul. 46; Andr. 458; Metra 12, 31; Boeth. 36, 7 &c.

If optat. or imperat. of *secgan* do but convey an invitation to repeat a fact known as such, not to reveal something foreign

to the speaker, the indic. comes in :—Ps. 65, 3 *Geveordie vuldres ealdor eall þeós eorðe, écne drihten! and þe singe eác, secge geneahhcie, þæt þín nama is ofer eall niða bearn se hēhsta hāleða cynnes!* Ps. 65, 2. Genes. 617 Satan summons Eve to tell Adam his vision :—*Sāge Adame, hwilce þu gesihðe hāfst þurh mīnne cime crāfta!* Reporter and hearer have already come to knowledge about it. Contrast therewith *Sege me nu kwaet his þe deorast þince.* Boeth. Cap. XIII. An inst. of the perf. indic. after the imperat. is Ps. 91, 2.

b) If the indic. pres. is not uncommon after the pres., and even the perf., of *secgan*, the indic. perf. rarely crops up; for, the past facts it may relate, seldom affect reporter and hearer so much with their reality as present facts are liable to do. With reference to the indic. perf. after the first pers. see just before (§ 35 a). Further inst* occur Beóv. 52 *Me ne cunnon secgan tō sōðe sēle raedenne, hāleð under heofenum, hvā þām hlāste onfēng!* Jul. 558; Crist 222; Chron 1016 E and F, pg. 158 and 1070 E after *gehýrde secgan*.

Quite out of the line of Ags. usage is the indic. in Gen. 41, 8 *Pharao . . . rehte him his svefen and bād, þæt hig him saedon, hvāt þāt svefen beheöld.*

That observation of Behaghel (Die Modi im Heliand, § 42), that in the Heliand the indic. stands when after the clause dependent on *secgan*, either direct report follows, or narration goes on, does not seem to be applicable to Ags. It may be that in some of the above quoted ex* of pret. indic*, the indic. has been promoted by the indirect speech being isolated; but the subj. commonly stands under the same circumstance. Comp. f. i. Gen. 2563, 2613; Exod. 377; Beóv. 1175; Boeth. 24, 3, pg. 130 b.

c) Later Ags. betrays a noticeable fondness for the indic. pret., as witnessed in the Chronicles. We already alleged an inst. of the subj. pret. of the year 1036 (E); of 1016 (E and F, pg. 158) and 1070 E, the indic* pret. have just been quoted

(§ 35 *b*). In the year 1123 a nuncio is reported to have said to the king (and he saede þone kyng) *þ. hit waes togeanes rihte þ. man scolde* &c., (pg. 250 E), and now the indic^a pret. begin to turn out the subj^a of old in masses:—1127, pg. 256 E; 1128 E, pg. 257 l.; 1137 E, 262 b. and 263 t. Without connective *þät* the indic. pret. occurs 2124, pg. 252.

§ 36. *a*) As formal mood of reported speech, the subj. did not oulast Ags. In Old English the indic. and modal words step into its place. Late Ags. largely indulged in the use of the indic. when there was no reason to set forth the objective reality of a statement. The subj., on the other hand, by contrast soon got the special implication of not-fact, a function alien to Ags.

The reason why the subj. of the indir. sp. was replaced by the indic. in O. E., we hold to be the small number of distinct subjunctival forms decreasing more and more. What wonder though the O. German subj. of the indir. speech escaped withering away, when the sense of it was kept up by distinct inflexions, not only throughout the pres. and pret. of the strong, but also of the weak verb, at least in the early stage of O. High G. And yet the indic. was there by no means rarer in the indir. speech than in Ags. (See Erdmann, loc. cit. § 308 et seqq.)

b) The change of moods comes under our notice in the first part of the 12th cent., in the Ags. Chron. Before following it up, we have to point out how that simplest form of hypotaxis, mere juxtaposition, abundantly exists in O. E., as compared with Ags.¹

Whereas in Ags. we found several times the subj. (see § 32 *d*), we saw but the indic. in O. E. Comp. f. i. :—Debate of the Body and the Soul, Mätz. Poesie, pg. 94, 100 :—*thou seidist al was*

¹ This is a puzzling fact and worth notice, that the period with unaccomplished junction of its clauses, should be more frequent in the later stage of English speech than in the younger. The contrast is striking as regards the so-called suppression of the link-word in the relative clause.

idel-gong. A. R. 8 *Siggeð þe, ge beoð &c.* 98. Lagam 14826 MS. Cott. Calig.; Matth. 22, 23¹. Then again O. E. exhibits great predilection for inserting a verb of Saying into the reported speech. Cp. Cant. Tales 9537 *In which ge sain ther is no wo ne strif*, A. R. 400. Deb. of Body and Soul, Mätz. Poesie, pg. 95, 153.

c) The new indic. appears the most striking in the pret. In the O. E. Hom. the preacher of the Palm-Sunday reminds his hearers:—*Al swa ic er cwet hu hure drihten rad to ierusalem*. In Lagam 13826 (Cott. Otho) Vortiger answered *þat of eche vuele he was war*. *Seide þet heo was igon a dweoleð* occurs several times at page 224 of the Ancr. Riwle. The indic. pret. after such expressions as *Uss writeþþ* (sc. Goddspelless lare) Orm. 11770; *þe Goddspell seggþ þatt*, ibid. 11321, was already in favour with Ags. The subj. pret. we saw in Gen. 2563 and 2613 after *us gevrutu secgað* (sc. the Genesis). In O. E. they own but the indic. Comp. f. i. Sermon, Mätz. Prosa, pg. 42, 3 (beginning of the 13th cent.); 49, 10. Stepping further on towards the end of the 13th cent., we hear how Christ said *at one moupe þat he wolde destru temple and chirche And þat he was wel coupe &c.* Fall and Pass., Mätz., pg. 128, 169. King Lear sent word, *þat it was ys wille* to grant the “gode Cordeille” to the king of France. Rob. of Glouc., Mätz. I, 62. Comp. II, 76. Some one came to Morgan, king of Scotland *And seide hym it was gret despit, þat he it hadde al on hond*. ibid. I, 205. In Beket 2355 (Lives of Saints) pilgrims from Egypt, *told In what manere Saint Thomas was aslawe, and which tyme he was ded*. Comp. ibid. 2304, 2327; St. Cristopher 13, 65; Dame Siriz 76 (tolde); Prick of Consc. by R. R. de Hamp. 408; Seuyn Sages 2278; Maundev. Trav. 171. 6; Cant. Tales 6976, 10567, 5442

¹ Ags.:—*ða secgeaþ ðæt nan aeryst ne sȝ. W. that seyen there is no rysyng agein.*

(*tellen*), 13471; John Trevisa 351, 14 *and seide þat it was in power and choys of þe citeceyns* . . ; W. de Shoreham 136 (*tellen*).

d) As for the indic. pres., examples can be given more numerously:—O. E. H., I. Ser. 5; II. Ser. 113; A. R. 8, 146 *Seint Gregorie awundreð him and seið þet men beoð wode þet treoweð so vuele*; Owl and Nightg. 803¹, 847, 971; Gen. and Exod. 2383; Ayenb. of Inw. 88, 2; 110, 3; 116, 2; Hamp., Prose Treat. 145, 27; Maundev. Trav. 174, 15 (*tellen*), 175, 2 (*tellen*), 181, 13 (after *told*), 213, 17; Trevisa 346, 14 (*tellen*), 357, 7 *Avctours telleþ and writeþ þat þe citee of Rome is ibulde in Tuscias* 347, 12; Cant. Tales 6487, 6587; Tale of Mel., pg. 178 (Aldine Ed. vol. III); Pers. Tale, pg. 519.

e) The indic. pres. also extends to the case of the governing verb being an imperat.:—O. E. H., I. Ser. 3; A. R., pg. 10; Liffade of St. Jul. *Do sei me quod þat meiden hwa sende þe to me ant is meister over þe*. King Lear *bad his eldest daughter:—Sey me al clene þin herte, how mucche þou louest me*; Rob. of Glouc. I, 14; St. Margar. 62 (*tellen*); K. Horn 197, 1307, 1308; The Seuyng Sages 2336 (*tellen*;) Syr Gaw. 401 (*howe*); Cant. Tales 12624 (*tellen*), 13327 (*if*).

f) Let us finally confront the Ags. Gospels with W. and T. Christ charged his disciples that they should tell no man *ðæt he waere Hælend Crist* in Ags.; in Wycl. *that he was Crist*; in Tyn. *that he was Jesus Christ*, Matth. 16, 20. *Quid igitur scribæ dicunt oportere ut Elias primum veniat?* runs thus in Ags.:—*Hwaet secgeaþ ða boceras ðæt gebyrige acrest cuman Heliām*; in W.:—*What therefore seyn scribis, that it behoueth Hely first come*, Matth. 17, 10; cp. 22, 23 Ags. W. and T. In Ags. the Jews ask Christ *Sege us openlice, hwæder ðu Crist sȝ*; in W. English *If thou ert Crist, seie to vs opynly*, John 10, 24. This inst. however will not hold so good as those

¹ Indic. *canst*; *cunne* is the subj., f. i. 809.

preceding:—W., anxious to follow up the Latin mood, wherever practicable, found the indic. in the Vulgate:—*Si tu es Christus ille, dic nobis aperte.*

§ 37. Speaking of some lingering rests of the subj. in the orat. obl., we have to put aside cases where the subj. is not due to the speech being indirect, but to its hypothetic character, as in *Siggeð me hwat were on leof, hwarof habbe neode* A. R., pg. 262. In the A. R. we met but one sure inst. of the subj. of the orat. obl., pg. 414, evidently used with consciousness to tell that every responsibility as to the acurateness of the subject-matter is declined. The relation of the anchoress to society being thus outlined: She is quite dead to the world; she shall not make her meals with her friends outside the convent, the writer goes on to say:—*Me hæuð i-herd ofte siggen, þet deade men speken mid cwike men; auh þet heo eten mid cwike men ne uond ich neuer gete.* A similar subj. turns up in the Knight's Tale 1435. Philostrate, a page, is introduced into the tale . . . *But half so wel beloved a man as he, Ne was ther never in court of his degre. He was so gentil of conditioun, That thurghout all the court was his renoun. The sayden that it were a charite That Theseus wold enhaunsen his degre* &c. The subj. of K. Horn 765 stands in the rhyme. The Lambeth MS. of the Poema Morale, printed along with the Old English Homilies, I. Ser. (E. E. T. S.) presents the subj. in 114 *Wase seið pek he bo hal, himself wat best his smirte*, while the younger Trinity MS. (II. Series of O. E. H.) has the indic.:—*Hwo se seið þat hie beð . . .* &c. The early transcriber of the late Ags. poem, the original (see Morris, Pref. I. Ser. of O. E. H.), adopted the regular Ags. subj.; the younger found it to be shocking and rejected it.

IX. THE SUBJUNCTIVE AFTER VERBS OF INQUIRY.

§ 38. As to the nature of the subj. after verbs of Inquiry, we hesitated § 11 *d* to utter any opinion: We speak of it in this place, since some of them at least, as *gefrignan*, *ascian* are verbs of Saying at the same time. The subj. therefore may be of the same kind as the subj. of the orat. obl. (§ 34); whereas in other cases, it will have to be associated with the subj. of the direct, viz. independent question (§ 11).—The clauses depending on verbs of Inquiry are introduced by indefinita and by *gif*, and are commonly styled indirect interrogative sent^s. (As to this unbecoming term, see Erdmann, Synt. Otrf. § 127). With rare exceptions, the subj. is their mood in the pres. and pret.:—*Gefrignan*. Beöv. 1319; Gen. 1003, 1832; Jul. 258; Dan. 529; Elene 850; Crist 92. *Ascian*. Boeth. 34, 1; 49, 9; Gen. 22, 7; 32, 29; Deut. 4, 32; Josh. 16, 6; Job. 3; Matth. 10, 11; John 9. 15; 5, 12. *Fandigan* Gen. 1436, 2410. *Ic ville fandigan nu, mago Ebrëa, hvät þá men dôn, gif hie svâ svîde synna fremmað þeávum and gepancum, svâ hie on þveorh sprecað fâcen and invit: þât sceal[forð] vrecan svefyl and sveart lîg sâre and grimme hât and haeste hæðnum folce*. Grein takes the clause beginning with *gif* to depend on *fandigan*, to judge from his translation. We think the indic. *fremmað* strongly opposes itself to such conception, and look upon it as being the protasis of a conditional period, the conclusion of which begins with *þât sceal* &c. Boeth. 18, 4.

As regards the indic. in Gen. 42, 33 *Ic vylle fandian hvæðer getreöve synd*, it will be less astounding, if we compare the Latin *Sic probabo quod pacifici sitis* and the present version of the Hebrew:—*Hereby shall I know that ye[are] true[men]*. *Smean*. Boeth. 32, 2; Mark. 9, 10. *Gepencan* excogitare (herausfinden) Boeth. 26, 1, pg. 140 h. *Gepencað nu hwæper men maegen cuman to þam solum gesaelpum ðurh þa andweardan gesaelpa*. *ibid.* l. &c. Rāts. 42, 8¹; Boeth. 13, pg. 56 (*hwaet*); 26, 1 (*hwæper*); 27, 2; 41, 3.

NOTE.—*Gepencan* (= memini), as verb of Perception, is followed by the indic., as the other verbs of our list if employed with that purport. *Hycgan* to guess (meditari). In Rāts. 29, 12 the invitation to think of the word runs thus:—*Micel is tō hycganne visfæstum menn, hvät seó viht seó*. Comp. Rāts. 32, 24; Dan. 132 (*āhicgan hū*).

purhvlitan, Crist 1332 (*hū*). *Geondvlitan*, Jul. 397 (*hū*). *Geseón*, Exod. 3, 3 (*ic gā and geseó hvī*); 4, 18 (in a final sent.); Numeri 11, 23; Matth. 27, 49; Mark. 6, 14 (after a final clause with undiscernible mood). *Sceavian*, Gúthl. 25 *Dryhten sceávoð hwaer þā eardien, þe his æ healden*; Gen. 37, 32 (*hwæðer . . . þe, whether -or*); 38, 25; Num. 13, 18; Josh. 2, 1 (*hēt sceáavian hū, subj. pret.*). *Lôcian*, Gen. 37, 14. *Gecnāvan*, John 7, 17 (*hwæðer*). *Rædan* (*divinare*) Rāts. 60, 16 *cräftes neósan hū*; Andr. 483 *leornan and gepancmetan*; Gen. 1916. *Sécan*, Dan. 81, 733; Elene 218, 1160. *Gyddian*, properly *sermocinari*, appears with the purport of *to speak to one another asking = to ask each other* in Dan. 728:—*gyddedon . . . hvät seó hand vrite*; it is parallel to *sóhton . . . hvät seó hand vrite* of 732. *āmetan*, Sat. 703, 706. *Metegian*, Ps. 76, 10. *Cunnian*, Gen. 2846 . . . *cunnode georne, hvilc þās æðelinges ellen vaere*; Ps. 70, 10. *Ongitan*, Boeth. 11, 2 *Miht þu nu ongitan hwæper þu auht þe deorwyrpre habbbe þonne ðe*

¹ Grein is wrong to translate *geþencan* = *beherzigen*; (*geþencan* = *excogitare*).

sýlfne, *Canst thou now discover, whether thou hast any thing more precious to thee than thyself?* (Cardale). In Boeth. 34, 2 the subj. depends on *ongitan* = *to discover* in a temporal clause introduced by *opbe þ.*, *until*, whether subjunctival or not, is not discernible¹. *Vundrian* does not only mean *mirari*, *obstupescere*, but also *to be inquisitive about*. Then it is verb of Inquiry and followed by the subj.:—Boeth. 5, 3; 11, 2, pg. 54 h.; 13; 39, 9, pg. 346 m.; 41, 2; 41, 4; 29, 1, pg. 160 m. *Gieman*, Crist 1553 (*hväder*); 1569 (*hú*). *Reccan*, Boeth. 7, 3; 11, 2; 18, 4; 38, 5; 49, 7. *Sorgian*, Andr. 1229. *Gebidan*, Beóv. 2530 *Gebide ge on beorge byrnum verede secgas on searvum, hväder sêl maege äfter vâlraese vunde gedýgan uncer tvega* = *Tarry ye . . . to see . . . which of us two . . .*; Grein translates *Wartet ihr . . ., wer nach des Kampfes Sturme möge woler hier genesen von uns beiden*. Comp. Crist 802. Similarly *básnian* (*to look forward what*²), Andr. 1067.

NOTE.—As for the indic. setting in after verbs of Inquiry as far as they are at the same time verbs of Saying, see § 36.

¹ As to *ongitan* = *cognoscere* and the indic. see the note to *geþencan*. *Ongitan* = *conquirere* occurred to us but in Boeth.

² As for *gebidan*, *básnian* = *to wait until* see § 9 c).

X. THE SUBJUNCTIVE AFTER VERBS OF THINKING.

A. "VITAN" AND "NITAN".

§ 39. a) The indic. is used after *vitan* as far as it means *to be aware of*¹, and as far it does not belong to an affirmative question. The following passages from Boethius will clearly illustrate such rule:—*Wast ðu hvonan aelc wuht come? Ic wat þ. aelc wuht from Gode com*, Cap. 5, 3. *Wast ðu hwaet mon sie? Ic wat þ. hit is sawl and lichoma*, 34, 9. Thus the indic. stands:—Beóv. 272 *þu vást, gif hit is, svá ve sôðlice secgan hýrdon* &c., 2651; Andr. 434; Elene 815; Satan 182; Metra 19, 13; 19, 20; 28, 80; Gen. 12, 11 (*Novi quod pulchra sis mulier*) *Ic vát, þát þu eart vlitig on hve*; Matth. 6, 8 (subj. in Lat.); Boeth. 11, 2 (without conjunction); 7, 1; 16, 3; 33, 1; 34, 9.

The indic. may appear even if *vitan* belongs to a final clause, as Metra 19, 13; Dan. 523 *þát his móð vite, þát mihtigra vite vealdeð*, if the fact be ascertained (Exod. 16, 12), and after *vitan* in the optat. Exod. 8, 10; Aelfr., ad Hiob VII. If a matter of question, the subj. comes in, as in Gen. 42, 16²) *þát ic vite hváðer* &c. 42, 34 *þát ic vite, þát ge sceáveras ne sîn* &c., as well as if the main sentence implies the idea of *to learn, to inquire whether*:—Boeth. 39, 2 *sceal acrest*

¹ As to an other shade of meaning, see just below.

² So after *seón* in Exod. 4, 18.

witan hwaet sie sio anwealde. 40, 5 (*Ic wolde witan hwaeper*) Cott. Cal. Lagamon 13835 *ich wulle iiviten . . . whaet ge seon.*

Of a different kind is the subj. in cases like Exod. 33, 16 *Be hvam magon ve vitan, þät ve gife habbon beforan þe . . . ?*, where the subj. is the same as that of indirect speech, the subordinate sentence repeating the statement made in verse 12.

Similarly the subj. in the above quoted Gen. 42, 34 might be explained. In Gen. 15, 8, where Abraham who has just been promised to inherit the land, answers:—*Mīn drihten god, hū mæg ic vitan, þät ic hit āgan sceal?*¹; the indic., expressing Abraham's firm belief, appears notwithstanding its character of indirect speech; whereas in Exod. 33, 16 before quoted, the subj. stands, because Moses does not acknowledge God's statement to be truth, i. e. because he does not, like Abraham, come in with his warranty as to validity or non-validity. (Comp. § 34).

b) As for mood after the subjunctival *vitan* in the concessive sentence after *þeāh* and the condit. sent. after *buton*, it agrees with the mood of the governing verb. Comp. Boeth. 32, 1; A. R., pg. 340; John. 7, 51 *buton aer wite hwaet he dō.* Wycl. presents . . . *no but first it have herd of him and knowe what he doth.* Similarly the indic. in Tynd. Whe showed elsewhere (§ 17 et seqq.), how such concordance of moods as in the Ags. example became unusual in O. E.—After the negat. question with *vitan*, the indic. stands f. i. Boeth. 16, 3; 24, 4; 34, 7.

c) Mood is liable to great vascillation after *nitan*. Comp. f. i. Boeth. 14, 3 *ðam neatum is gecynde þ. hi nýton hwaet hi send; ac þ. is þara monna unbeaw þæt hi nýton hwaet hie sien.*—As far as the period does not imply a desire of attaining certainty about an activity as it does in *Ic nat nu hu ic maege heora dýsig eall swa sweotole areccan &c.*

¹ Lat. . . . *quod possessurus sim eam.*

Boeth. 32, 3; 40, 2, pg. 362 b; Metra 19, 37 *Ic nāt hū ic maege . . . taclan* &c. Gen. 531; A. R., pg. 326, and Chron. 1083 *Nyston hwet heo to donne waere*,—but simply states, that a fact has not come to knowledge, the indic. is the rule as with *vitan*. Comp. Elene 721 *and hvāðre geare nyste hungrē gehýned, hwaer sió hālig rôð purh searu*—[*crāft besenced lāg on fyrndagum*]. Beóv. 1332; Oht. and Wulfst., Ags. Reader, 35 *ac he nyste hwaet ðaes sôðes waes*. Further indic¹ pret.¹:—Gen. 38, 16; 42, 23; Exod. 16, 15; C. T. 3414 *She shulde say she n'iste not wher he was*² 13433.

d) If the action being the object of *nytan*, has not yet taken place while the activity of *nytan* is going on, then of course the subj. of irrealis stands. In the Old E. Homilies, II. Ser., pg. 91, subj. and ind. pret. appear side by side clearly distinguished:—The preacher of Whitsunday (in Die Pentecosten) tells his hearers, how Ananias and Sapphira took counsel together to withhold some of their goods from the apostles:—*for heo nusten hwet heom ilumpe*. Now Ananias having been struck by death, we hear:—*þa com his wif saphira and nuste hwet hire were ilumpen wes*, the indic. relating to a fact, past with reference to the activity of *nytan*.

Instances of the indic. pres. after *nytan*:—Phōnix 357 *God āna vāt hū his gecynde bið . . . : þāt ne vāt aenig monna cynnes butan meotod āna, hū þā visan sind vndorlice fāger fyrngescap ymb þās fugles gebyrd!* Hymn. and Geb. 3, 13; Rāts. 85, 18 (*sceal*); Metra 10, 53; Gen. 27, 2; 39, 8; Exod. 10, 26 (*sceal*); 32, 1. 23; John 7, 27; Ags., W., Tynd., everywhere with *hvāper*; Boeth. 5, 3 (twice); 11, 1 *He nat hwaet him toward biþ*; 11, 2; 14, 3; 19; 38, 5; 41, 3 (*sceal*).

NOTE.—The indic. stands after *nitān* just to present a fact as unquestionable and as without the province of comprehension

¹ The pret. subj. in Boeth. 35, 5, pg. 248 b. is in the orat. obl.

² In Ags. the subj. would have stood here for the sake of the orat. obl.

as regards the subject of *nitan*. Thus in the above (§ 39 c) quoted *ðam neatum is gecynde þ. hi nyton hwaet hi send; ac þ. is þara monna unþeaw þaet hi nyton hwaet hie sien*, the indic. is due to the cattle being incapable of comprehending what they are; while the subj. lets transpire the possibility for men to learn what they are. Comp. further *Beöv.* 52; *Ps.* 89, 13; *Gen.* 27, 2; *Hymn.* and *Geb.* 3, 13.

From O. E. we allege:—*Owl and Nightg.* 821; *Christopher* 72 *I not . . . what hit is.* *Gen.* and *Exod.* 2330; *Cant. Tales* 3803 (*wher* = *where*; rhyme).

e) That the interrogative form of *vitan* causes the indic. to be replaced by the subj., while the negat. *nitan* as such does not cast the indic. aside, is shown by a passage in *Metra* 10:—*Hvâ vât nu þäs vísan Vêlandes bân, on hwelcum hi hlaeva hrusan peccen? 42 nât naenig mon hvaer hi nu sindon!* *Comp. C. T.* 5641 (*What wot I if that Crist have &c.*). After the subjunctival *nitan* in the concessive clause with *þeáh*, the subj. stands in accordance with the principle of symmetry of moods.¹ *Comp. Boeth.* 39, 2.

B. “VÊNAN” &c.; “GELÏFAN” &c.

§ 40. a) After *vênan*, to imagine, to fancy the subj. stands almost exclusively. Without conjunction we saw it *Boeth.* 14, 1 *Wenst þu maege seo wyrd þe gedon þaet &c.* With conjunctive particles, the inst^a are very numerous. We quote but a few.

1. Subj. pres.:—*Gen.* 1827 . . . *þonne äðelinga eorlas vênað, maeg älfsciéno, þät þu mîn sie beorht gebedda.* The substance of the opinion uttered is a fact; nonetheless the subj. has to come in to denote that the subject-matter, though true, is the object of imagination. Thus the subj. appears as

¹ See § 17 et seqq.

the mood of subjective reflexion. Like the foregoing subj*, many of the following refer to facts. Metra 29, 40; Boeth. 5, 3; 7, 2; 13, 2; 16, 2; 23, 4; 34, 1; 34, 9; 35, 5; 38, 2; 38, 5; Gen. 20, 11; Matth. 6, 7; Boeth. 29, 1, (pg. 158 m.); 25, 5 (*hwaeper*).

2. Subj. pret.:—Metra 28, 70 *Understadolfäste ealneġ vënað þät þät eald gesceafst aefre ne vaere* &c., 72; Boeth. 11, 1; Gen. 38, 15; Chron. 1086 E, pg. 221.

b) Since the subj. pret. stands for facts as well as for mere thoughts, the modal word *sculan* comes in for clearness' sake to denote expressively, that an activity is supposed to be future from the stand-point of the past. Comp. Chron. 994 C and E *Ac hi þaer geferdon maran hearm and yfel þonne hi aefre wendon þ. him aenig buruhwaru gedon sceolde*. Jul. 425; Ps. 87, 4.

c) Of the indic. we found but three inst* in Boeth., against the mass of subjunctives: 14, 2; 14, 3; 38, 2. One in the Metra 26, 113. They are by no means cases where opinion agrees with truth, as we might expect. Once, but not in vernacular Ags., in Gen. 20, 11, an indic. stands alongside and parallel of a subj. Abraham having denied Sarah his wife, was rebuked by Abimelech. He answered:—*Ic vëne, þät godes ege ne si on þissere stöve and þät hi villað me ofsleán for mines vifes þingon*:—The Latin given by Grein is certainly not the original:—*Cogitavi mecum dicens: Forsitan non est timor dei in loco isto et interficiet me propter uxorem meam*.

d) Akin to *vënan* are:—*Tellan (censere, arbitrari)* Boeth. 24, 2 (subj. pres.); 35, 3 (subj. pret. after *tellan* in a negat. quest.). *Teohhian (censere)* Boeth. 24, 3; 14, 2; 49, 10.

þyncan, videri is hardly ever found with the indic.

1. Subj. pres. Without conjunction:—Boeth. 23, 1 *ðaet me ðyncþ sie þ. hehste god þaette man ne durfe* &c. With

conjunction:—Metra 10, 7; Boeth. 13; 14, 2; 18, 3; 29, 1; 33, 3; 35, 5; 49, 4; Aelfr., Pref. to the Gen. 23, 4.

2. Subj. perf.:—Dan. 498, 509; Gûthl. 411, 1096; Red. der Seel. 35; Gen. 41, 1.—Beside *pät*, *swilce* appears as connective particle between the two clauses, f. i. Gen. 19, 14. Of indicatives we met Boeth. 35, 5, pg. 256 m. *Me þincþ þ. ðu hwerfest ýmbuton sume wunderlice and seldcupe spraece &c.*; while some lines higher, we find the subj. in quite similar plight:—*Me þincþ þ. þu me dwelige and dýderie*. Further indic*:—Boeth. 38, 4; Aelfr., Pref. to the Gen. 22, 8.

§ 41. a) *Gelýfan* as expressing a personal view on a matter, is followed by the subj., like the preceding verb, even when the truth of the statement is conspicuous and acknowledged.

1. Subj. pret.:—Gen. 679 *ic gelýfe pät hit from gode côme*. Crist 753; Dan. 448.

2. Subj. pres.:—Elene 799 *ic gelýfe þē sēl and þý fästlicor ferhð staðelige, hyht untveóndne on þone áhangnan Crist, pät he sie sôðlice sávla nergend &c.*, Dan. 579; Andr. 1286; Hymn. and Geb. 10, 49; Boeth. 5, 3; 34, 9; 38, 6.

b) When we confront Elene 799, Andr. 1286, and other subj^a just quoted, with Hymn. and Geb. 3, 36 *pät ic gelýfe on þe, leófa haelend, pät þu eart se miccla . . . kyning eálra gesceafta*, and with John 10, 38¹; 14, 10¹, the indic. seems puzzling. We hold to account for it by observing that, in the cases of the subj^a hitherto quoted, the object of belief is in question, while in the cases of the indic^a, *gelýfan* or *not gelýfan* is at stake, the subject-matter of belief being established: The subordinate clause might in the latter inst^a be said to contain the main activity and the principal sentence to be a comment upon it. We would now render the difference of purport by inflexion of voice: with the subj. *I believe the better that he is the saviour of souls* (Elene 799); *I believe on thee, that thou*

¹ Indic. also in W. and T.

art the great king of all creatures. The indic. occurs after the negative *gelȝfan* in Seef. 67 *ic gelȝfe nō, þāt him eorðvela ēce stondeð.*

§ 42. a) In Old English the indic. is gradually supplanting the subj., even where the matters supposed or imagined, have not at the same time objective truth:—Best. 409 *ðe raven is swiðe redi, weneð ðat ge rotieð*; 413 *he wenen ðat ge ded beð.* In both cases the subj. would not have disturbed alliteration (*rotieð, beð* = 3^d pers. sg.). O. E. H., I. Ser. 7 *And þenne þu wenest þet þu scalt libben alre best, þenne gest þu forð &c.*; Deb. of Body and S. 73. Without conjunction the indic. appears f. i. Vox and Wolf 128 *Ich wene hit is Sigrim that ich here*; Horn 826. With conjunction the indic. is further met after *wenen*:—Hamp. Pr. Tr. 138, 18; Serm. ag. Miracle-plays 231, 20.

b) So great has been the mischief done among moods, that with Chaucer, an indic. perf. like *So wise and ripe wordes hadde she, And jugement of so gret equitee, That she from heaven sent was, as men wend, Peple to save* (Cant. T. 8316), is possible. Comp. Maundev. 203, 14 *But I suppose wel, that it was not so founded*; C. T. 340¹. That the subj. pret. was besides not lost in Chaucer's time is proved by Trev. 349, 10 f. i.:—*perfore þe lewed peple wende þat it were alle on body.*

c) *Trowen*, akin to *wenen*, is seen with the subj. pret. Cant. T. 693 without conjunction; with the pret, indic. 12956 *I trow a thritty winter he was old.* In the pres. *trowen* often stands with the subj.:—Cant. T. 3664, 7380, 9092, 12623 (without conj.), 16362; with the indic. f. i. 7165; Serm. ag. Miracle-plays, Mätz. Pr. 234, 21. Instances of the subj. after *wenen* are still frequent in the 13th cent.:—Comp. A. R. 10 (pres.), 178 (pres. after the optat.), 222 (pres.), 224 (pret.); Serm. II,

¹ *That held of opinion, that plein delit Was veraily felicite parfite.*

49, 7 . . . (Mätz. n., Prosa) beginning of the 13th cent.; Liff. of St. Jul. 12 (after the imperat.); Owl and Nightg. 842 (pres.), 852 (pres.), 900 (pres.), 959 (pres.); K. Horn 297 (pret., but rhyme), 1124 (pret.), 1439 (pres.); R. of Glouc. II, 276 (pres.); Ayenb. of Inw. 81, 11.

d) With *thinken*, *bithinken*, and *leven*, the indic. has been quicker to make itself familiar with O. E.:—A. R. 382 *Me punched þet we beoð ikumen into þe seoucðe dole*. Comp. further the indic. pres. in Mätz. n. Poesie, pg. 51, 51¹; K. Horn 1310; Dame Siriz 218, 285; Treat. of Pop. Sc. 158; R. R. de Hamp., Pr. Treat. 135, 35, where the unreality of the subject-matter of the dependent clause is expressly stated:—*hym thynkes þat he heres woundirful sownes and sanges, and þat es no thyng eþs but a fantasie* &c.; 136, 2; 136, 17; 146, 14 (without conj.); 148, 23 (without conj.); 139, 14 *if thou thynke þat þis es noghte sothe* &c.; Ayenb. of Inw. 113, 12; Cant. T. 12947; Tale of Mel., pg. 152 (Ald. ed. vol. III). The subj. pres. occurs Deb. of Body and Soul 39.

e) While in the A. R. an action done suggests commenting upon as:—*ich biðoulte me . . . hu uel hit werē* &c., we observe that, in the Lives of Saints (end of the 13th cent.), the subj. perf. is but retained by rhyme. Comp. Christoph. 175 *Hem bogte his face brigtere was þan sonne oper mone* with Beket 2423 *Meni men hit thogte wel that hit his wille were* (rhyme with *nere*). Comp. subj. in Dunst. 76 (rhyme) with the indic. of 77 (within the verse).

The subj. pret. in Ayenb. of Inw., Zupitza, Altengl. Leseb. XXIII, 116 (*were*) is certainly due to the indir. speech. See the regular indic. in 75.—Comp. further Seuy n Sages 2235 (indic. pret.). We get a clear idea of the distance which separates Ags. from the speech of the age of Chaucer, if we oppose Chaucer's *But natheless, I thought he was so trewe*

¹ First half of the 13th cent. prayer:—*In manus tuas.*

C. T. 10903 (*he was not*) to the examples of subj^a pret. § 40.
Comp. C. T. 787 *Us thought it was not worth to make it wise.*

f) *leven* is seen with the indic., even when optat.:—Ayenb. of Inw. 70, 5 *pis article askep, pet me leue pet pe holi gost is pe yefpe and pe loue of pe nader and of pe zone.* Comp. John 9, 18 (Ags. subj., W. and T. indic.).

g) The impersonal *semen, videri* (*it semeth &c.*), like *thinken* takes the indic. Comp. R. R. de Hamp., Prose Treat. 139, 27 (pret.); Laur. Minot, Mätz., pg. 327, 187 *It semid he was ferd for strokes*¹. P. Ploughm. Vision 63; Pers. Tale, pg. 516; Tale of Mel. 161.

¹ The explanation of such a clause as subordinate one might however be objected against.

CONCLUSION.

CHIEF RESULTS OF OUR INQUIRY:—

I.

In the independent sentence the opt. pres. lives a most vigorous life in Ags. The pret. is very rare. From late Ags. the opt. is gradually losing force and independence: it appears dependent on verbs of wishing, desiring &c., where once the indep. subj. would have been sufficient. Then again modal words, originally themselves in the subj., take its place.—Traces of the new idiom with *let* may be recognized already in Ags., at least in the 1st pers. pl. The second part of the 13th cent. is the moment of its firm appearance in the 3^d pers. as well as in the first. In Chaucer's time it freely interchanges with the opt. While W. holds to the opt., the periphrase with *let* has got the better with T.

In the depend. sent. the use of the opt., pres. and pret., is in O. E. restricted by periphrases with modal verbs and constructions with verbs finite.

II.

The potent. subj. in the indep. sent. is not wanting in Ags.

In the direct (indep.) question—not only but especially if the answer expected be negative—the subj. pres. appears frequently, the pret. now and then, in Boeth. and in the Metra.

The hypoth. subj. pres. occurred to us in Ags. at least in one remarkable inst. in the indep. sent.

In hypoth. comparison the subj. pres. not unfrequently appears in Ags., whereas O. E. shows but the pret.

III.

As regards the condit. sent., hypoth. conditions are generally expressed by the subj. pret. The subj. pres. is rare¹ as far as it is not due to optat* or imperat* in the apod.; in O. E. however, the subj. pres. strangely encroaches upon the regular indic. pres. Even before Chaucer the indic. pres. is mostly superseded by the subj. pres. The South kept the longest clear of such usage.

With optat* and imperat* in the apod. the subj. pres. is the rule in Ags. poetry; as for prose, subj. and indic. are indiscriminately used. In O. E. this law of symmetry of moods of Ags. was abandoned. Still some lingering rests may be seen in Shakespeare.

IV.

The same law of symmetry (concordance) of moods applies to the relat., locat., temporal (and modal) clause, in the same way.

V.

In the concessive sent. introduced by *þeáh*, and its equivalents in O. E., the subj. pres. and pret. is—allowance made for six inst* of the indic.—exclusively used in Ags.

Of all the subj* this is the most abiding in O. E. The subj. pret. denoting past facts acknowledged as such, is still used by Chaucer and still occurs in Shakespeare. The seven inst* of the indic. pres. and the nine inst* of the indic. pret. (simple and compound), the only indic* we have to record, are not anterior to the Ayenbite of Inwyt.

¹ Except in the condit. sent. with inverted order of words and without conj., where the subj. is the rule.

VI.

In the comparat. sent. introduced by *ponne* the subj. stands in Ags. after the affirmat. comparative of superiority. From the end of the 13th cent. this subj. frequently is replaced by the indic. Here again the South is last to adopt the New.

VII.

As for the temporal sent. introduced by the comparative *aer*, the subj. is by no means confined to the case of the main sent. being affirmative; it often appears after a negat. one. In O. E. a reflected manner of representation takes place, the use of the subj. resting on intentionality. With Chaucer the indic. pret. after the negat. main sent. has gained firm ground.

VIII.

The subj. stands in the relative clause after superlatives, especially in poetry; and after *eall*, but not to the same extent. In O. E. such usage quickly become obsolete.

IX.

In classical Ags. the subj. (pres. and pret.) is the mood of the indir. speech, except when the reported fact expressly has to be set off as fact. Late Ags. largely indulged in the use of the indic. and in O. E. the indic. supplanted the subj. altogether.

After verbs of Inquiry, after *vēnan* and *gelyfan* mood changes in the same way from Ags. to O. E.

Thus the use of the subj. has been restricted in a twofold sense: modal words took its place chiefly where it agrees with our modern conception of the subj.; where it was most characteristic, i. e. where the subj. did not appear as the mood of wish, uncertainty, doubt, hypothethis and the like, but as mood of the acknowledged fact not strong enough to hinder

an other one from taking place¹, or inferior to one compared with it², or not yet happening while an other one is in doing³, in one word as mood of the relatively lesser value of a fact; then again where it stood as mood of the sent. depending on optat⁴, imperat⁵ and their equivalents i. e. as correlative to optat. and imperat.⁴, there it was promptly superseded by the indic.

So great has been the havoc done, that the indic. has not only penetrated into the indir. speech, but also into hypothetic condition⁵ and into hypoth. comparison, nay, it is colloquial English to say:—*I wish I was*.

At the end of our inquiry a Götting. dissert.:—"Der Conjunctiv im Alt-Englischen und seine Umschreibungen durch modale Hilfsverba" by *Oskar Hennieke* (1878), came to our knowledge.—It comprises the time from the middle of the 13th cent. to the beginning of the 16th cent. Occasionally Ags. has been consulted. It is a supplement to our essay as far as it pays close attention to the use of modal verbs, and as far as it extends by one century beyond the period of our inquiry.

From a comparison between the two dissertations, it may be gathered that in many and most important points we do not agree with Hennieke, especially not with regard to Ags. His opinions about Ags. usage, we dare say, rest besides on too little reading to be all true. Hennieke is f. i. wrong to assert that the subj. stands in the comparat. sent. introduced by *þonne*, if the main sent. contains a comparat. (pg. 55); nor does the indic. come in, as he thinks, if a fact is concerned. We proved § 26 that the subj. is the rule after the affirmat. comparat. (of superiority), as mood of the relatively lesser value

¹ Concess. sent. with *þeðh*.

² Affirmat. comparat. sent. introduced by *þonne*.

³ Temporal sent. introduced by *aer*.

⁴ Condit., relat., locat., temporal (and modal) sent.

⁵ See pg. 51, note.

of the fact, and that the indic. naturally appears after the negative comparat. Thus the question is not about fact or not-fact, but about the relative value of the subject-matters. This seems to us, is the weak point of H.'s dissert.:—

He ignores the subj. of the old tongue to be the mood of the relatively lesser value of a fact (or not-fact). Nor is he conscious of the subj. being the correlative to the optat. and imperat. (or equivalents, see § 1) of the main sent.

Only in the case of the consec. and the adject. sent., he observes that the imperat. is favorable to the subj. The influence of the form of the main sent. (whether affirmat. or negat.) has been taken notice of but as regards the adj. sent.

For the host of subj* in the condit., relat., locat., temporal &c. sent., being correlatives to opt*, imperat*, and equivalents of their main sentences, Hennicke tried vain explanations, like:—
 “Im Angelsächsischen pflegte der Conj. Präs. nach *ponne* und ähnlichen Conjunctionen zu stehen, wenn es galt, auf ein zukünftiges Ereigniss ganz unbestimmt hinzuweisen”, or “Die alte Sprache bediente sich auch des Conjunctivs nach anderen temporalen Conjunctionen, die in unbestimmter Weise in die Zukunft deuten, so nach *penden*”¹. We know subj* like *Gap beawlice þonne ge gehyran cyricean bellan* (Aelfr.); *Ves, penden þu lifige, æðeling eádig!* Beóv. 1225; *Vutun gangan tô, helpan hild-fruman, penden hit sj,* Beóv. 2650; *Gehyre, se þe eáran hábbe*, Mark. 4, 9 f. i.², which he alleges,—to be nothing else but **correlatives to imperat*, optat*, and their equivalents.**

¹ Pg. 35 c.

² Pgg. 35 and 48 t.



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